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COLLECTION  
OF THE  
PARLIAMENTARY  
DEBATES  
IN  
ENGLAND,

FROM

The YEAR M,DC,LXVIII

To the present TIME.

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COLLECTION

1871

DEBATES



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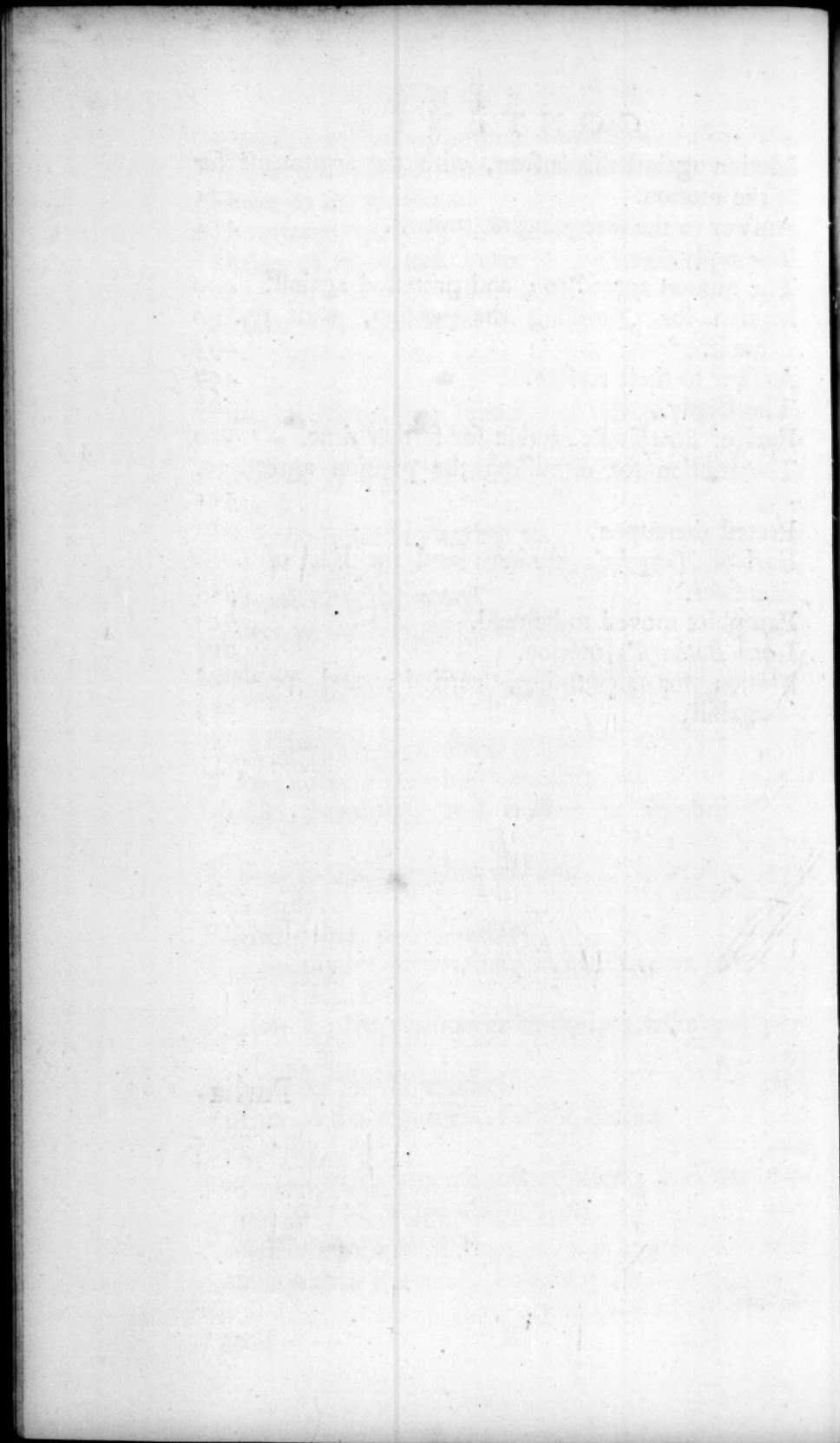
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Parlia-







## Parliamentary Debates.

ON *Thursday* the 7th day of *March*, the famous bill, intituled, *A bill to prevent the infamous practice of stock-jobbing*, was read the third time in the house of Commons, and Sir *John Rushout*, who had been one of the chief supporters of it, both in the former session and in this last, was ordered to carry it up to the house of Lords.

Stock-jobbing bill sent up to the Lords.

This bill had met with so much opposition in the preceding session, that it was dropped for that time; and even in this last session it met with a good deal of opposition in both houses, though it had been a little altered from that which was proposed the preceding session.

On *Thursday* the 28th of *March*, the house of Lords went into a committee upon the said bill, when the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Harvey*, and the Earl of *Cholmondely* spoke against the bill; and the Earl of *Strafford*, the Lord *Hardwick*, the Lord *Bathurst*, the Earl of *Ilay*, and the Earl of *Winchelsea*, spoke in favour of it.

The arguments chiefly made use of against the Argu- bill, were, ' That the grandeur and strength of a na- tions depended upon public credit, which was a thing gainst the bill.  
' of a very ticklish nature, and did not always depend  
' upon reason, but upon the opinions of men; and  
' therefore it was very dangerous to make any inno-  
' vations with respect to our public funds; for tho'  
' one man might have a good opinion of the inno-  
' vation proposed, yet he could not tell what opinion  
' others might have of it.

‘ That all human regulations, all human affairs, were subject to imperfections and inconveniences, and therefore legislators had, in all countries, been forced to suffer small inconveniences for the sake of greater conveniences ; which was really the case then before them ; for though stock-jobbing was an inconvenience, yet considering how much it contributed to the ready circulation of money, and to the supporting the credit of our funds, it was therefore to be tolerated.

‘ That the credit of our funds depended very much upon the ready access that people had at all times to their money, and that this ready access was chiefly owing to the practice of stock-jobbing ; by this practice it was, that every man was always sure of finding a purchaser for his stock whenever he had a mind to sell, and by this only it was, that there was always a certain and fixed market-price upon every one of our public funds ; whereas, should this practice be intirely destroyed, it might soon become as difficult to find a purchaser for stock, or to ascertain the price of it, as it is now with respect to land ; and the concluding of a bargain might become as tedious in the one case as it is now in the other.

‘ That at present our people got by commission and brokerage from foreigners at least 80,000 *l.* *per annum*, which would be intirely lost to the nation, if that bill should pass into a law ; because all transactions of that nature, even in our own public funds, would then be carried on upon the exchange of *Amsterdam* ; and it was well known, that when any branch of trade is divided, and turned out of its old channel, it is no easy matter to bring it back again ; and therefore, though the bill was to continue but for three years, they could not agree to it, because if the trade of buying and selling any of our publick funds, should be turned

‘ out

out of this kingdom for three years only, it might not be in our power to bring it back again.

That if the creditors of the public were not allowed as free and uncontrouled a liberty of disposing of their properties in the public funds, as of any other part of their property, it would not only prevent people's becoming purchasers of any of our present funds, but it would prevent people's lending their money to the government upon any future emergency, which might be attended with the most fatal consequences.

That in all other branches of trade, there was a free liberty allowed to every person that had a mind to insure his stock in trade: That the selling of stock for time, and the giving of money for the put of stock (as it was called in *Exchange-alley*) was nothing else but a way of insuring the principal money which a man had in the public funds; and the preventing a man from taking that method of securing his property in the funds, would be a very great hardship upon all the creditors of the public. And,

That it was doing an injustice to the persons concerned in the public funds; because it was a subjecting them to conditions and restraints which they were not subjected to, nor could possibly dream of, when they lent their money to the public; which was really, in effect, taking so much of their property from them; for it was certain, that every sort of property was of the less value, the more conditions and restrictions it was subjected to: Nor could any argument, in favour of the bill, be drawn from that law which had been made against laying wagers about public affairs; because those that might be concerned in such wagers, had never purchased from the public a privilege to lay any such; whereas the creditors of the public had in some manner purchased a privilege of taking any method they thought proper for

‘ making the most of the property they had in the  
‘ public funds.’

Argu-  
ments in  
favour of  
the bill.

On the other hand, the arguments made use of in  
favour of the bill, were, ‘ That there was really no  
‘ difference between stock-jobbing and gaming ; or  
‘ if there was any, it consisted in this, that the for-  
‘ mer was much more fatal in its consequences, and  
‘ much more destructive than the other ; for that if  
‘ any man frequented hazard-tables, horse-racing,  
‘ cock-fighting, or any other sort of publick gaming,  
‘ it became soon known in the world, and thereby  
‘ every man was advertised to draw his effects out of  
‘ such a man’s hand, and not to give him any trust  
‘ or credit ; so that if such men came to be ruined,  
‘ they generally could lose nothing but their own  
‘ estates, and none suffered by their folly or ill con-  
‘ duct, but themselves and their own families ;  
‘ whereas in the transactions in *Exchange-alley*, they  
‘ might be, and generally were, carried on in the  
‘ dark ; it was not known who were principally  
‘ concerned ; by which means a man might game  
‘ for thousands, without its being so much as sus-  
‘ pected that he had ever ventured a farthing in that  
‘ way ; whereby it generally happened, that not only  
‘ the gamester himself was ruined, but many other  
‘ innocent men, concerned with him in an honest and  
‘ fair way of trade, found themselves undone, when  
‘ they had good reason to think themselves absolute-  
‘ ly secure.

‘ That stock-jobbing was worse than gaming in  
‘ this other respect, that gaming of any other kind  
‘ might be carried on upon a fair and equal footing,  
‘ but it was impossible that stock-jobbing ever could ;  
‘ for there would always be some persons behind the  
‘ curtain, who must necessarily know a great deal  
‘ more of the game than it was possible for the other  
‘ adventurers to know ; by which means they always  
‘ had an opportunity of cheating their fellow-game-  
‘ sters out of what sums of money they had a mind ;  
‘ and



‘ and it was but too well known, that men had often  
 ‘ made an unjust use of the knowledge they had in  
 ‘ this way. And,

‘ That by the means of this infamous practice of  
 ‘ stock-jobbing, it was always in the power of some  
 ‘ of our foreign neighbours to lay a heavy tax upon  
 ‘ this nation, and to draw a great deal of money  
 ‘ out of it, whenever they thought proper; for, as  
 ‘ the prices of all our public funds must always de-  
 ‘ pend, in some measure, upon the circumstances of  
 ‘ foreign affairs, and must vary, according as those  
 ‘ circumstances vary, it would always be in the power  
 ‘ of the ministers of some of the foreign courts of  
 ‘ *Europe*, by means of their correspondence here, to  
 ‘ raise large sums of money, by giving out a little  
 ‘ for the refusal or for the put, of some of our public  
 ‘ funds.

And in answer to the arguments made use of a-  
 gainst the bill, it was said, ‘ That public credit,  
 ‘ ’twas true, depended upon the opinions of men,  
 ‘ but then those opinions were always founded upon  
 ‘ reason, when people were truly informed, and had  
 ‘ time to think coolly about the matter; which could  
 ‘ not well happen, as long as the game of stock-job-  
 ‘ bing was allowed; for thousands of lies would be  
 ‘ daily invented to deceive the weak and ignorant;  
 ‘ and men would always run headlong into the  
 ‘ buying or selling, or dealing in puts and refu-  
 ‘ sals, not according to the real intrinsic value of  
 ‘ the thing to be bought and sold, but according  
 ‘ to their opinion of the price’s being about to fall  
 ‘ or rise.

‘ That the credit of our funds did not depend  
 ‘ upon the gaming or stock-jobbing in them, but  
 ‘ rather suffered by it, as appeared evidently from  
 ‘ this, that the *South-Sea* annuities, in which there  
 ‘ was little or no gaming, had always bore a higher  
 ‘ price than the stock, in proportion to the dividends  
 ‘ made upon both; and it was certain, that every

‘ man, who was not endowed with something of  
 ‘ the spirit of gaming, would put a greater value  
 ‘ upon that security, which he was sure of selling a-  
 ‘ gain for what it cost him, than upon a security by  
 ‘ which he ran the risque of losing or winning a  
 ‘ great deal: And as to the certainty and invari-  
 ‘ ableness of the price, the price of annuities had al-  
 ‘ ways been more certain and invariable, than the  
 ‘ price of any other public fund, which shewed that  
 ‘ stock-jobbing rather tended towards unsettling,  
 ‘ than towards fixing the price of any of our public  
 ‘ funds.

‘ That the facility of finding a purchaser for any  
 ‘ thing, depended upon people’s being certain as to  
 ‘ the value, as to the right, and as to the method of  
 ‘ conveying of the thing so to be sold; and to this  
 ‘ certainty, with respect to our publick funds, it was  
 ‘ owing that the proprietors had then so ready an  
 ‘ access to their money, and not at all to the practice  
 ‘ of stock-jobbing; therefore, as this certainty could  
 ‘ not be in the least diminished by the bill then be-  
 ‘ fore them, the proprietors of the public funds would  
 ‘ without doubt, have as ready access to their mo-  
 ‘ ney, after the passing of that bill, as ever they had  
 ‘ before.

‘ That it could not well be supposed that ever our  
 ‘ people had made in any one year 80,000 l. by  
 ‘ brokerage and commission, from foreigners deal-  
 ‘ ing in our funds; but whatever had been made in  
 ‘ that way, could not by the bill be diminished;  
 ‘ for it was certain, that buying and selling, in the  
 ‘ gaming way, could not be carried on by commis-  
 ‘ sion, there could be no commission or brokerage  
 ‘ paid by foreigners to our people here, but when a  
 ‘ transfer was actually made; and when a transfer is  
 ‘ to be made, some trustee or correspondent here  
 ‘ must still be employed; so that nothing but the  
 ‘ game of stock-jobbing could be carried to the ex-  
 ‘ change of *Amsterdam*; and if all our gamesters, as  
 ‘ well

# A. 1734. DEBATES.

‘ well as the game, were transported thither, it would  
‘ be no great loss to the nation.

‘ That it was to be hoped, the public credit of  
‘ this nation depended upon a much more stable  
‘ foundation than that of stock-jobbing; and it was  
‘ not to be presumed, that the creditors of the pub-  
‘ lic had purchased, or that they ever intended, by  
‘ their lending money to the government, to pur-  
‘ chase a privilege of setting up a gaming-table in  
‘ the middle of the city of *London*; and to pretend,  
‘ that the prescribing a certain method, by which  
‘ the property of the public funds was to be transfer-  
‘ red from one to another, was a restraint put upon  
‘ the liberty of disposing of such funds, or that it  
‘ would any way diminish the value of them, was  
‘ the same thing as to pretend, that the statute of  
‘ the 29th of *Charles II.* against fraudulent convey-  
‘ ances of land estates, was a restraint put upon the  
‘ liberty of disposing of such estates; or that the act  
‘ for registering such conveyances within the county  
‘ of *Middlesex*, had diminished the value of land  
‘ within that county; whereas it was never yet ima-  
‘ gined, but that the proprietors of land estates had  
‘ as full a liberty of disposing of such estates, since  
‘ the said act of the 29th of *Charles II.* had passed,  
‘ as ever they had before; and it was well known,  
‘ that the act for establishing a register within the  
‘ county of *Middlesex*, had rather increased than  
‘ diminished the value of land within that county.

‘ And,

‘ That as bargains for time were still to be allow-  
‘ ed, the public creditors might thereby insure their  
‘ principal money in the public funds, in the same  
‘ manner as they had done before; but as for the  
‘ practice of giving money for the put of stock, if  
‘ it was to be called an insurance, it was a very odd  
‘ sort of one; for by that method, a man was to  
‘ insure not only his own property in the public funds,  
‘ but in some manner the whole public funds of



‘ *England*; which was just the same as if a man, concerned only in one ship, should give a premium for the insurance of such a sum of money upon the safe return of all the ships belonging to *Great-Britain*.’

Upon reading the last clause, by which the bill was made to continue three years, the Lord *Delaware* moved, ‘ That it might be made to continue but for one year, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament.’

Lord *Bathurst* was against this amendment, because, he said, ‘ Such a short term might very probably encourage the stock-jobbing gamesters to enter into a combination for raising inconveniences and evil consequences which they might perhaps be able to support and keep up for so short a time by some fraudulent and artful management, in order to make people sick of the bill, and thereby prevent its being continued; whereas if it was made to continue for three years, things would in that time take their natural course; the gamesters could not hope to keep up by art and management any sort of inconveniences, but those which really proceeded from the nature of the bill; and therefore in order to know the natural and real consequences of it, it was necessary to give it a continuance for at least three years.’

The Earl of *Illy* spoke for this amendment, and the Earl of *Strafford* and the Earl of *Poulet* against it. At last the question was put; upon which there was a division, but it was carried against the amendment proposed, 27 against 16.

Election of Scottish Peers. Soon after the beginning of this session, the Earl of *Marchmont* moved, ‘ That the house of Lords might resolve to go into a committee, to take into their consideration the election of the 16 Peers to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of

of *Great Britain* ;' and upon its being represented, that some irregularities had crept in, particularly as to the method of claiming the right of Peerage, the house agreed to the resolution proposed ; and accordingly, on *Wednesday* the 6th of *March*, their Lordships went into the said committee, and the said Earl made a motion to this effect, ' That none ' but those descended of the body of a Peer or Peer- ' ess, who had actually enjoyed the title since the ' year 1690, should be admitted to vote at the elec- ' tion of the 16 Peers thereafter to be chosen for re- ' presenting the Peers of *Scotland* in the Parliament of ' *Great Britain*, until their title had been in a proper ' way laid before, and approved of by that house.'

The Lord *Hardwick*, the Duke of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Ilay*, and the Lord *Harvey*, spoke against this motion ; and the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Duke of *Montrose*, and the Earl of *Chesterfield* spoke for it ; the Earl of *Scarborough*, and the Duke of *Argyle* spoke for putting it off, which at last was agreed to, and the motion was dropt.

After which, the Marquis of *Tweeddale* moved, ' That for the future the said 16 *Scottish* Peers should ' always be chosen by balloting.' This motion occasioned a considerable debate, in which the Duke of *Argyle*, the Duke of *Newcastle*, and the Lord *Talbot* were the principal speakers against the motion ; and the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, the Lord *Bathurst*, and the Lord *Carteret* were the principal speakers for it. At last the question being put, it was upon a division carried in the negative, 75 to 45.

Upon which the following protest was entered.

*Die Mercurii, 6 Martii, 1733.*

' **T**HE order of the day being read, for the house ' to take into consideration matters relating to ' the

‘ the election of the Peers of that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*,

‘ Moved to resolve, that no Peer who hath claimed, or shall claim right by succession to any Peerage of *Scotland*, other than a descendant of a body of a Peer, or a Peerefs, who has been in the possession of the Peerage claimed, since the 25th of *April*, 1690, shall be admitted to vote at any election of a Peer or Peers to sit in Parliament, for that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, until his right and title be claimed and determined in this house.

‘ After debate,

‘ Ordered, That on *Monday* next this house shall be put into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration matters relating to the election of the Peers of that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*.

‘ Then it was moved to resolve, for the better securing the freedom of the election of a Peer or Peers to sit in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, on the part of *Scotland*, that the election should be by way of ballot.

‘ And the question being stated thereupon,

‘ After farther debate,

‘ The question was put upon the said motion, and  
‘ It was resolved in the negative.’

*Dissentient,*

1. **B**Ecause this motion tending only to make a variation in the manner of electing the Peers for *Scotland*, we apprehend it was intirely agreeable to the intention of the 22d article of the union. For, whatever can contribute to make the election more free

free and independent, the more it answers the design of that article: And we must observe, that this house has been so far from thinking the manner of election unalterable, that a bill passed this house, by which the election itself was intirely abolished.

2. Because in an election of this nature, the method of voting by ballot appears to us infinitely preferable, on many accounts. For, as it is well known, there are several alliances among that body of nobility, many of the Peers may be put under great difficulties, their alliances drawing them one way, and their opinion and inclination another way. It is also possible, that by pensions from the crown, or by civil or military preferments, some of them may lye under obligations to a court, and be reduced to the hard necessity (under the power of an *arbitrary minister*) either of losing their employments, or of voting against their nearest relations, and their own opinion also. We apprehend, that no election can be called perfectly free, where any number of the electors are under any influence whatsoever, by which they may be biased in the freedom of their choice.

3. Because we apprehend, that this house is in a most essential manner concerned in the freedom of this election; for if sixteen new members are to be brought in every new Parliament, under any undue influence, it may tend to subvert the independence of this house, and, of consequence, the constitution of the whole kingdom. By means of such an election, an *ambitious minister* may make use of the power of the crown, at one time to destroy the interest of the crown, at another, to oppress the liberty of his fellow-subjects, and by different turns protect himself from the just resentment of both.

4. As this house is the highest court of judicature, and the last resort in all matters relating to the properties

erties of the subjects of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, we conceive, that every person who is master of any property, is concerned in the consequence of this motion; for if sixteen of these members, in whose hands this great trust is vested, should ever be thought to be in the *nomination of a minister*, the subjects of these kingdoms may have great reason to dread the consequence of such an unwarrantable influence, by which their liberties, lives and properties might be rendered precarious.

<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Marchmont,</i>	<i>Montjoy,</i>
<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Tweedale,</i>
<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Marlborough,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Weymouth,</i>	<i>Winchelsea,</i>	<i>Warrington,</i>
<i>Cobham,</i>	<i>Bruce,</i>	<i>Stair,</i>
<i>Chesterfield,</i>	<i>Ker,</i>	<i>Denbigh,</i>
<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Berksbire,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mort.</i>	<i>Bristol,</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Willoughby de Br.</i>	<i>Foley,</i>
<i>Cardigan,</i>	<i>Clinton,</i>	<i>Tadcaster,</i>
<i>Bolton,</i>	<i>Aylesford,</i>	<i>Litchfield.</i>
<i>Heversham,</i>		

**Motion against corruption in electing Scottish Peers.** On *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the said house resolved itself again into a committee upon this affair, when the Duke of *Bedford* moved, ' That the giving or promising any sum of money, post, pension, or other reward, to any of the Peers of *North-Britain*, for giving his vote in the election of the 16 Peers to represent them in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, was a high insult upon the crown, a great indignity to the Peerage, and a breach of the privilege of that house.

The chief speakers in favour of this motion, were the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Stair*, the Lord *Willoughby of Brook*, the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the Lord *Bathurst*, the Lord *Carteret*, and the Earl of *Winchelsea* :



*sea*; and the chief speakers against the motion were, the Duke of *Newcastle*, the Lord *Harvey*, the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Poulet*. But upon a division the question was carried, against the motion, 73 *Not contents*, to 43 *contents*, of the Lords who were then in the house; and of proxies there were 26 *Not contents*, and 17 *contents*; so that in all there were 99 against agreeing to the motion, and 60 for agreeing.

Those who spoke in favour of the motion, spoke in substance thus:

*My Lords,*

‘ It is well known, that by the constitution of <sup>Speeches</sup> this kingdom, all elections, of whatever nature, <sup>for the</sup> ought to be made with the utmost freedom: We <sup>motion.</sup> have many laws, both ancient and modern, for establishing the freedom of elections, and for preventing any undue influence that may be made, either by money, by threats, or by promises, upon the electors: The very nature of the thing requires it should be so; for every man who is allowed a vote at any election, is by law presumed capable of determining within himself, who is the most proper person for that post, office or employment, to which he is to elect; and if he be directed in his voting, either by money, by threats, or by promises, it is he who directs that is properly the elector, and not he who is made the tool upon that occasion; by which means that election, which by law ought to be made by a great number of persons, may come to be directed, and consequently made, by one single man.

‘ Therefore, my Lords, it has always been deemed to be a maxim of the common law of *England*, *That elections shall be regularly and freely made, without any interruption whatever*; and this maxim  
‘ has

' has been confirmed and enforced by most of the  
 ' great Kings that ever reigned in this kingdom.  
 ' Under our glorious King *Edward* the first, was that  
 ' statute made, which is called the first of *Westmin-*  
 ' *ster*; and by the 5th chapter of that statute it is ex-  
 ' pressly ordained, *That no great man, or any other*  
 ' *person, shall by force, by malice, or by threats, any*  
 ' *way disturb the freedom of election under the pain of*  
 ' *grievous forfeiture*; which is a law that is still in  
 ' force, and a law that relates to all elections made  
 ' or to be made within this kingdom; and so care-  
 ' ful were our ancestors of preserving this freedom of  
 ' election, that even requests and earnest solici-  
 ' tations were in such cases deemed unlawful, as may  
 ' appear from that statute which was made in the 7th  
 ' of *Henry* the IVth, and from the 14th chapter of  
 ' the statute called *Articuli Cleri*, which was made in  
 ' the reign of *Edward* the IIId: For it was most rea-  
 ' sonably by them concluded, that if any great or  
 ' powerful man was but allowed to request or solicit  
 ' a man for his vote at any election, that request or  
 ' solicitation would have the same effect as if he had  
 ' actually threatened that man, or made promises to  
 ' him for giving his vote as directed; because every  
 ' man would naturally presume, that if he complied  
 ' with the great man's request, he might expect his  
 ' favour; and if he denied his request, he must ex-  
 ' pect his malice.

' From hence it is plain, my Lords, that by the  
 ' very nature of the thing, as well as by the com-  
 ' mon and the statute law of this kingdom, it is  
 ' highly criminal in any great man to request or so-  
 ' licit votes at any election, but it must be still more  
 ' highly criminal in any man, actually to give or to  
 ' promise any money or other reward upon such an  
 ' occasion, especially in any thing that relates to a  
 ' right of sitting in this house; and what appears to  
 ' be the undoubted law of *England* is so far from be-  
 ' ing



ing derogated from, by the union between the two nations, that it is, in the particular case now before us, expressly confirmed by that act which was made in the Parliament of *Scotland*, for settling the manner of electing the 16 Peers; and which act is by the Parliaments of both nations declared to be as valid as if the same had been part of the articles of union.

Since then it appears, that the resolution now proposed is nothing but a declaration of what is now the law of *Great Britain*, I can see no reason for our not complying with the motion which the noble Duke has been pleased to make to us; but on the contrary, I see many and strong reasons for our agreeing to it; for it will certainly enforce the laws now in being; it will put people in mind that there are such laws, and will contribute greatly towards terrifying those who may hereafter have evil intentions, from being guilty of those practices which they know to have been so lately condemned by this house: And such a resolution is at present the more necessary, because of the great complaints now so generally made over the whole nation, against such practices: Bribery and corruption in elections of all kinds is now so universally complained of, that it is become highly necessary for this house to come to some vigorous resolutions against it, in order to convince the world, that it has not as yet got within these walls: It has already, I am afraid, got too firm a footing in some other parts of our constitution; what is now proposed will not, I am afraid, be a sufficient barrier, but I am very sure, if something is not very speedily done, if some effectual measures are not soon taken against that deadly foe to our constitution, I say, I am sure, that in a short time corruption will become so general, that no man will be afraid to corrupt, no man will be ashamed of being corrupted.

‘ The’

‘ Tho’ it cannot be affirmed, my Lords, that any  
 ‘ undue influence has yet been made use of in the  
 ‘ election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*; tho’ it can-  
 ‘ not be suspected that any such influence will ever  
 ‘ be allowed of, much less approved of by his pre-  
 ‘ sent Majesty, yet no man can tell how soon such a  
 ‘ thing may be attempted; and the circumstances of  
 ‘ many of the Peers of that nation give us great rea-  
 ‘ son to be jealous of such attempts: It must be al-  
 ‘ lowed, that there are many of them who have the  
 ‘ misfortune of having but small estates; it is well  
 ‘ known that many of them have commissions in the  
 ‘ army, or places in the government depending up-  
 ‘ on the pleasure of the crown; and it must be  
 ‘ granted that some of them cannot well support the  
 ‘ dignity of their titles, and the ancient grandeur of  
 ‘ their families, without such commission in the ar-  
 ‘ my, or post in the government: If then any future  
 ‘ ambitious Prince should think of securing by il-  
 ‘ legal means a majority in this house, in order to  
 ‘ destroy the liberties of his people; or if any wicked  
 ‘ minister who had got the leading of a weak prince,  
 ‘ should think of getting a corrupt majority in  
 ‘ this house, in order to secure him against an im-  
 ‘ peachment from the other, are not we naturally to  
 ‘ conclude, that the first attempt of such a King, or  
 ‘ such a minister, would be to secure the 16 Peers  
 ‘ from *Scotland*.

‘ In such a case a court-list, or rather a ministe-  
 ‘ rial-list, would certainly be sent down, and every  
 ‘ Peer of *Scotland* that did not vote plumb for that  
 ‘ list, would be under-hand threatened with being  
 ‘ turned out of his commission in the army or navy,  
 ‘ or out of his employment under the government;  
 ‘ and others would be induced to vote for it by secret  
 ‘ promises of preferment, or of being provided for.  
 ‘ The noble families of *Scotland* are, my Lords, as  
 ‘ ancient, and have always behaved with as much  
 ‘ honour, as the nobility of any nation under the  
 ‘ sun;

' sun; but in such a case, how hard might be the  
 ' fate of some of the representatives of the noble fa-  
 ' milies of that kingdom: They must ungratefully  
 ' vote against those who perhaps procured them the  
 ' commissions or the posts they enjoy, they must  
 ' vote for those whom they know to be men of no  
 ' worth nor honour, men whom they know to be  
 ' meer tools of power; or otherwise they must ex-  
 ' pect to be stripped of all their preferments under  
 ' the government, and thereby rendered incapable  
 ' of supporting themselves in their native country  
 ' as noblemen, perhaps even as gentlemen. This is  
 ' a misfortune which certainly may happen:  
 ' This, my Lords, is a misfortune which, in re-  
 ' gard to our country, in regard to the honour  
 ' and dignity of this house, in regard to our own fa-  
 ' milies, we ought to provide against; and we can-  
 ' not provide against it too soon.

' I say, my Lords, that it is a misfortune, which  
 ' in regard even to our own families, we ought to  
 ' provide against; for it is well known that there is  
 ' but seldom any difference between the royal and  
 ' the ministerial power: There never can be any  
 ' difference between the two, but when there is a  
 ' just, a wise and an active prince upon the throne;  
 ' for when there is an ambitious and an unjust prince  
 ' upon the throne, his ministers will readily submit,  
 ' he will make every thing submit to his power, if  
 ' he can; and when a weak or an indolent prince  
 ' happens to be upon the throne, the whole royal  
 ' power will always be lodged in the ministers, ge-  
 ' nerally in one prime minister; and as such mini-  
 ' sters always endeavour to act in an arbitrary way,  
 ' they never will employ any but those who will  
 ' meanly submit to be their tools; all others they  
 ' will endeavour to oppress or destroy: It is certain  
 ' that men of great families and fortunes, who have  
 ' any sense or penetration, will never so easily sub-  
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mit to the arbitrary views of an ambitious Prince,  
nor will they so easily submit to be the tools of an  
over-bearing minister, as fools or mean upstarts;  
and therefore no such Prince or prime minister will  
ever employ any of them, if they can do without:  
While the ancient dignity and the weight of this  
house is preserved, the ancient and the great families  
of the kingdom will always be able to confine  
the views of an ambitious prince, and to force him  
to delegate a just proportion of his power to them;  
and they will always be in a condition to force  
themselves in upon a prime minister, not as his  
tools, but as his partners in power: But if it should  
once come to be in the power of a prince or minister,  
to secure by dishonourable means, a majority  
in this house, the greatest part of our posterity will  
for ever be excluded from all share in the government  
of their country; none but mean tools of  
power, and knavish upstarts will be employed  
in the administration; and perhaps even our next  
successors may see a wicked and over-bearing  
prime minister of state at the head of a parcel  
of fools and knaves, carrying things in this house  
by a majority, contrary to the opinion of the generality  
of mankind without doors, and contrary  
to the opinion of every honest man of sense  
within.

To me, my Lords, it is as clear as any demonstration,  
that an utter exclusion of all the nobility  
in *Great Britain*, who had either honour or good  
sense, from any share in the administration, would  
be the certain consequence of the court's getting it  
in their power to secure, by corruption, a majority  
in this house; but I am much afraid the misfortune  
would not stop here; I am afraid that such a  
court would soon begin to think of getting rid of  
every family in the nation which could be any way  
troublesome to them; and of such a resolution, my  
Lords,



' Lords, supported by such a majority, how fatal  
 ' might the consequences be to every one of your  
 ' Lordships families, which happened unfortunately  
 ' at that time to have a representative beloved in his  
 ' country, and esteemed for his great honour and his  
 ' good sense : Of such consequences I have the most  
 ' terrible apprehensions : I hope no such case will  
 ' ever happen ; but I must desire your Lordships to  
 ' consider how great an influence a number of 16  
 ' sure votes might have upon all the resolutions of  
 ' this house : Look into your journals, look into  
 ' the histories of this nation, and you will see how  
 ' many questions, questions in which the very being  
 ' of our constitution was deeply concerned, have  
 ' been carried against the then enemies of our consti-  
 ' tution, by a majority of a much smaller number,  
 ' perhaps by a majority of not above two or three.  
 ' Can we then be too jealous of the method of elect-  
 ' ing the 16 Peers for *Scotland* ? Can we refuse or  
 ' neglect to use all those means that lie in our pow-  
 ' er for preventing their being ever chosen by mini-  
 ' sterial influence ? Can we suppose that all those  
 ' who are chosen under such an influence, will not  
 ' vote in this house under that influence by which  
 ' they were chosen ?

' Custom, my Lords, is of a mighty prevalent  
 ' nature ; even virtue itself owes its respect in a great  
 ' measure to custom ; and vice, by being openly  
 ' and avowedly practised, soon comes to disguise it  
 ' self, and assume the habit of virtue : If ministe-  
 ' rial influence, if private and selfish views, should  
 ' once come to be the sole directors in voting at the  
 ' election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, the Practice  
 ' would soon get even into this house itself ; and as  
 ' inferiors are always apt to imitate their superiors,  
 ' it would from thence descend to every election and  
 ' to every assembly in *Great Britain* : Corruption  
 ' would then come to be openly and generally avow-

ed ; it would assume the habit of virtue ; the sacrificing of our country, the sacrificing of all the ties of honour, friendship and blood, to any personal advantage or preferment, would be called prudence and good sense ; and every contrary behaviour would be called madness and folly : Then indeed, if there were a man of virtue left in the nation, he might have reason to cry out, with the celebrated *Roman* patriot, *O virtue ! I have followed thee as a real good, but now I find thou art nothing but an empty name.* It was, my Lords, the general corruption he found in his country, that led that great man into such an expression : He died in the defence of liberty and virtue ; and with him expired the last remains of the liberty and virtue of his country ; for virtue and liberty always go hand in hand ; wherever one is, there likewise is the other, and from every country they take their flight together.

I have said, my Lords, that it cannot be affirmed, that any undue influence has as yet been made use of in the election of the Peers for *Scotland* ; but yet it must be granted, that towards the latter end of the late *Queen's* reign, there seems to be a strong suspicion, that some extraordinary influence was then made use of ; for the 16 that were first chosen after the Union, were all such as were known to have a true zeal and affection for the revolution, and for the present establishment : Soon after there was a change in the ministry here, and upon that a new Parliament ; it cannot be said, that there was any change among the electors of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, they necessarily continued to be the same ; and yet there was such a thorough change among the 16 representatives then chosen, that hardly one of the former was sent up ; the whole 16 were such as were agreeable to the new ministry, and such as went into all the new measures then set on foot. Even some noble Lords now in this house, whose consummate prudence and great  
‘ qualifications

‘ qualifications were then well known, were left out  
‘ in that Queen’s time, tho’ the Peers of *Scotland* have  
‘ been ever since so just to themselves, as always to  
‘ chuse them for their representatives: How this  
‘ should happen, without some undue influence being  
‘ then made use of, I cannot well comprehend; and  
‘ if what is now prophesied should happen; if upon  
‘ the next election it should be found, that some noble  
‘ Lords are left out, whose families as well as them-  
‘ selves, have been eminent and remarkable, for their  
‘ zeal for the present happy establishment, as well as  
‘ for the revolution upon which it is founded: If  
‘ such, I say, should be left out, for no other reason  
‘ that can possibly be guessed at, but that they hap-  
‘ pen not to be altogether agreeable to the ministers  
‘ for the time being, I shall think it still more unac-  
‘ countable; because that, in the latter end of the  
‘ late Queen’s time, there seemed to be a contest be-  
‘ tween those that were friends, and those that were  
‘ enemies to the protestant succession, and in such a  
‘ contest there is some ground to presume, that the  
‘ Peers of *Scotland* would naturally divide into two  
‘ parties, and that the most numerous party would  
‘ chuse that 16, who were supposed to be of the par-  
‘ ty they espoused; but now, my Lords, where there  
‘ is no principle either in religion or politics to direct  
‘ them, it is not to be supposed, that they will na-  
‘ turally divide into two opposite parties; or that the  
‘ majority of them will naturally resolve not to vote  
‘ for any one of those, who now happen to be dis-  
‘ agreeable to the minister, notwithstanding their  
‘ having, for a continued course of so many years,  
‘ thought some of them worthy of the honour of  
‘ being their representatives in this house.

‘ If this, my Lords, should really happen; if some  
‘ of those Lords now in this house, whose zeal and  
‘ affection for his Majesty’s person and government  
‘ are well known, whose qualifications and natural  
‘ endowments are universally acknowledged, and



' who have performed many eminent services to their  
 ' country ; if such, I say, should be left out, and  
 ' others, who may not be known in the world, cho-  
 ' sen, or at least, pretended to be chosen in their  
 ' room, I shall be apt to suspect, I believe the whole  
 ' nation will conclude, that some of the *Scottish* Peers  
 ' have not been directed in their choice, by that  
 ' which ought to be their only director upon such  
 ' occasions ; and if such a thing should happen, it  
 ' will be incumbent upon this house to inquire how  
 ' it was brought about ; for we ought not to admit  
 ' any unworthy person's being brought among us,  
 ' nor ought we to allow of any person's being brought  
 ' unworthily or unjustly into this house ; this we  
 ' have a right to inquire into, as may appear by  
 ' what happened so lately as in the reign of the late  
 ' Queen ; and our own records, our own histories  
 ' may shew us, that the bringing, or endeavouring to  
 ' bring, unworthy persons into this house, was inqui-  
 ' red into, and had like to have proved fatal to King  
 ' Henry III.

' In such cases, my Lords, we are not tyed down  
 ' to the strict rules of law, we are not to expect  
 ' every criminal fact to be proved by two or three  
 ' witnesses ; this is what neither house of Parliament  
 ' ever thought themselves tied down to ; it is from  
 ' circumstances as well as proofs that we are to de-  
 ' termine, and if such circumstances should concur  
 ' as must convince every man of common sense in  
 ' the kingdom, I am sure I need not tell your Lord-  
 ' ships what you are to do ; but as the preventing of  
 ' crimes is much more prudent and less troublesome  
 ' than the punishing of them, let us therefore now  
 ' endeavour to prevent the committing of any such  
 ' crimes, by agreeing to the resolution proposed.

' The other house of Parliament has passed many  
 ' laws for preventing the influence of bribery and  
 ' corruption in the election of any of their members.

' They

‘ They have lately got passed a severe law against that abominable practice ; and another bill for preventing any undue influence upon their members, after they are chosen, has since been several times brought in, and as often passed in that house, but your Lordships have not, it seems, thought fit to give it your concurrence : While there are such complaints against the growth of corruption, while the other house are using such precautions against it, shall we sit still and do nothing ? There are but a few of the members of this house, there are none but the 16 for *Scotland*, who owe their seats here to an election : Let us then, my Lords, take all possible care, that they shall always be chosen by an honourable, a fair and a free election : If they should ever come to depend upon a minister for their seats in this house, consider, my Lords, what an influence it might have even upon their way of voting while they are here : How terrible must it be for any Lord of this house, to be exposed to the danger of being told by an insolent minister, you shall vote so or so, otherwise you shall be no longer a Lord of Parliament. This is what, I hope, your Lordships will endeavour to prevent, by agreeing to this resolution, or any other more effectual method that may hereafter be found to be necessary.’

Those who were the speakers against the motion, spoke to the following effect.

*My Lords,*

‘ That both by the common and statute Law of this kingdom, all elections ought to be free and undisturbed, is what will not be denied by any Lord in this house ; and that the giving of money, or the making use of any threats or promises, in order to induce any of the electors to vote according to direction, is a crime of a very high nature, is what will be as little controverted ; but this is so

Speeches  
against the  
motion.

' far from being an argument for the resolution pro-  
 ' posed, that, in my opinion, it is a very strong ar-  
 ' gument against it; for wherever the law is plain  
 ' and clear, there is no occasion for a resolution of  
 ' this house, either to inforce it, or to put people in  
 ' mind of it: Upon the contrary, our coming to  
 ' such a resolution, might probably make people  
 ' doubt of what they before thought evident, because  
 ' our resolution would not make that to be law,  
 ' which was not so before, and some people would  
 ' naturally conclude, that the law in that respect was  
 ' not clear and evident; otherwise this house would  
 ' have had no occasion for coming to any such reso-  
 ' lution. In the present case indeed, the law is so  
 ' clear and evident, that no man of common sense  
 ' can doubt of it, and therefore, our coming to such  
 ' a resolution, will not probably bring the law in  
 ' doubt with any man in the kingdom; but I can-  
 ' not help thinking, that it would be a very odd and  
 ' a very extraordinary resolution; I must really  
 ' think that we may with as much propriety resolve,  
 ' *That the levying of war against the King is an act of*  
 ' *high-treason*; and how such a resolution would  
 ' appear upon the journals of this house, I leave  
 ' your Lordships to judge.

' As I have said, my Lords, it must be acknow-  
 ' ledged by all, that the giving of money, or the  
 ' making use of threats or promises, in order to cor-  
 ' rupt or over-awe the electors at any election, is con-  
 ' trary to law; but yet I cannot admit, that the  
 ' making use of any sort of solicitations is contrary to  
 ' law; I cannot think but that any Lord of *Scot-*  
 ' *land* may ask another's vote, at any ensuing election  
 ' of the 16 Peers for that kingdom, and that in fa-  
 ' vour of his friends as well as of himself; and if any  
 ' Lord of that country should have the honour to  
 ' be secretary of state, or in any other high office  
 ' under the crown, I cannot comprehend how he can  
 ' be thereby excluded from being a candidate at that  
 ' election;

‘ election ; a candidate he certainly may be, and as  
‘ such, he may ask every other Lord of that coun-  
‘ try for his vote at the ensuing election ; nay, he  
‘ may not only ask that favour for himself, but he  
‘ may ask it for others ; his being in an office under  
‘ the crown does not strip him of the privilege which  
‘ every other Lord enjoys ; nor does any law now  
‘ in being, make his solicitations more criminal than  
‘ those of the other Lords of his country.

‘ The laws now in being for preserving the free-  
‘ dom of elections, are, my Lords, in my opinion,  
‘ fully sufficient for that purpose ; and whoever thinks  
‘ so, must conclude, that there is not the least occa-  
‘ sion for the resolution now proposed : But granting  
‘ that they were not sufficient, would our coming to  
‘ such a resolution render them so ? It cannot be so  
‘ much as pretended, that a resolution of this house  
‘ would add to their sufficiency, or that it would con-  
‘ tribute in the least towards making a law effectual  
‘ for the end proposed, if it was before found to be  
‘ ineffectual. Thus, my Lords, there is either no  
‘ occasion for our coming to such a resolution, or it  
‘ would be of no use when made ; and therefore I  
‘ cannot think it consistent with the dignity of this  
‘ house, to have any such resolution entered upon our  
‘ journal. If the laws in this respect are insufficient,  
‘ let a bill be brought in for amending and strength-  
‘ ening them ; but do not let us take up our time  
‘ with making resolutions which all the world must  
‘ see to be of no use.

‘ This, my Lords, is a very strong argument a-  
‘ gainst our coming to the resolution proposed ; but  
‘ there is still a much stronger ; for it would, in my  
‘ opinion, be a very high indignity offered to his pre-  
‘ sent Majesty’s government ; it would tend to make  
‘ the whole world suppose, that some very heinous  
‘ practices had been lately carrying on by his Majesty’s  
‘ ministers, for influencing the elections of the 16  
‘ Peers for *Scotland* ; and to suppose that his Majesty

‘ is



is, or can be so unjust, as to countenance such practices, or that he can be so weak as not to discover them, if any such were carrying on by his ministers, is one of the highest indignities that can be offered to the crown. It is indeed a supposition, which no man can make, who is in the least acquainted with his Majesty's justice, penetration, and watchfulness for the good of his people; but our coming now to such a resolution, would be doing at least all in our power, to raise such a suspicion in the nation; and among the vulgar and ignorant, or in the remote parts of his Majesty's dominions, it might have a fatal effect.

Besides this, my Lords, it would be a most heinous affront offered to the whole Peerage of *Scotland*; it would be a supposing that the majority of them are directed in their way of voting at the election of their 16 representatives, by corrupt and mercenary views: This would be a conclusion that every man without doors would naturally draw, when he heard that your Lordships had come to such a resolution; no man would imagine that such a thing could have happened without any proof, without any foundation. The Peers of *North-Britain*, my Lords, are by the articles of Union, declared to be Peers of *Great Britain*; they are to have rank and precedence before all Peers of *Great Britain* of the like order and degrees, created since the Union; they are to enjoy all privileges as fully as the Peers of *England*, except sitting in this house, and upon trials of Peers; and why they should be thus distinguished by a particular resolution of this house, I cannot comprehend. They have, it is true, no share in the legislature, except in that of voting for their own representatives in this house; but is there any colour of reason for suspecting them of corrupt and mercenary views in their way of voting for their own representatives, more than there is for suspecting every Lord here

of



‘ of such views in his way of voting, as to every  
‘ question that arises in the house.

‘ As for any suspicions that may be entertained  
‘ about the election of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, in  
‘ the latter end of the Queen’s reign, they may be  
‘ easily cleared up: The election at that time did not  
‘ proceed from mercenary or corrupt views, but  
‘ from views of a more malignant tendency, if any  
‘ such can be. It is well known, that many of the  
‘ then Peers of *Scotland*, were either secret or avow-  
‘ ed *Jacobites*: Upon that fatal change of the mi-  
‘ nistry here, they all conceived great hopes; there-  
‘ upon many declared themselves openly, who had  
‘ never done so before, and some of the nonjurors  
‘ came in and qualified themselves, in order to serve  
‘ a turn at that time, which they took to be in fa-  
‘ vour of that principle they had always carested;  
‘ and all these joining with the *Scottish* Peers, who  
‘ were then actually employed in the administration,  
‘ carried the election against those who stood firm  
‘ to the principles of the revolution, and to the pro-  
‘ testant succession, as established in his present Ma-  
‘ jesty’s family: But, thank God, their reign was  
‘ but short; and his late Majesty’s accession put an  
‘ end to all their views of doing any thing in a par-  
‘ liamentary way; by this the new election was easily  
‘ carried in favour of the friends to the present  
‘ establishment; and soon after most of the professed  
‘ *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, joined in an open rebellion,  
‘ by which they forfeited their titles as well as their  
‘ estates to the crown; whereby the neck of that  
‘ party was intirely broke, so that they have never  
‘ been able to make any effort at an election since  
‘ that time,

‘ Now, my Lords, as to those prophecies which  
‘ have been made to us, about the ensuing election of  
‘ Peers for *Scotland*, I am afraid they are as ill-found-  
‘ ed as any other of our modern prophecies, and I  
‘ shall be glad to find them as false; for I have so  
‘ great

' great a respect for the sixteen we have now the  
 ' happiness to have among us, that I could wish they  
 ' were all in for life ; but as their being here depends  
 ' upon a free election, their being all returned again  
 ' is what neither they nor we can expect ; and indeed  
 ' if it should happen, it would give me a strong  
 ' reason to suspect, that the election had not been  
 ' free : It is natural to suppose, that every election  
 ' will bring some new Lords among us, and for them  
 ' some of the former must be left out : Because a  
 ' noble Lord is firmly attached to the present esta-  
 ' blishment, because his family has always been zea-  
 ' lous for revolution principles, is that a reason, my  
 ' Lords, for us or for him to expect, that he should  
 ' always be returned one of the sixteen to represent  
 ' the Peers of *Scotland* in this house : No, my Lords,  
 ' there are many noble Peers in *Scotland*, and all  
 ' are, I hope, firmly attached to the royal family  
 ' now upon the throne, though some may not per-  
 ' haps have had an opportunity of shewing it so fully  
 ' to the world as others may : In such a case it is  
 ' reasonable to expect, that every one will endea-  
 ' vour to have his turn ; and where there is a free  
 ' election, it is reasonable to expect that those  
 ' Lords, who have not a mind to set up for them-  
 ' selves, will sometimes oblige one, and sometimes  
 ' another.

' But even as to the ministerial parties that have  
 ' been talked of, it is as reasonable to suppose that  
 ' the Peers of *Scotland* will naturally divide into two  
 ' parties, for and against the ministry, as to suppose,  
 ' that they can naturally divide themselves into two  
 ' parties, for and against the establishment : For  
 ' while the administration, while the ministers for  
 ' the time being, pursue no measures but what are  
 ' for the honour of their King, and the good of their  
 ' country, it is as reasonable to suppose, that all  
 ' those who think so will naturally join in the sup-  
 ' porting of their measures, as it is to suppose, that  
 ' they

‘ they would naturally join in the support of the  
‘ present establishment, were it possible to bring it  
‘ into dispute ; and were I a Peer of *Scotland*, and  
‘ convinced of the wisdom and uprightness of all the  
‘ measures pursued by the ministers for the time be-  
‘ ing, I should be as loth to give my vote for re-  
‘ turning a Lord to this house, who, I knew, or  
‘ even suspected would oppose the ministry in all  
‘ their measures, as I would be to give my vote for  
‘ returning to this house a Lord, whom I knew to  
‘ be really disaffected to his Majesty and his family :  
‘ And as there never was yet in any country a set of  
‘ ministers, whose measures were approved by all  
‘ men, therefore I shall always expect, that upon  
‘ every election in *Scotland*, the Peers will naturally,  
‘ and without any selfish or corrupt views, divide  
‘ themselves into two parties, one whereof will be  
‘ composed of those who do not approve of the  
‘ measures pursued by the administration, and the  
‘ other of those who do approve of them ; the natu-  
‘ ral consequence of which will be, the proposing or  
‘ concerting of two lists ; and in such a case it is ve-  
‘ ry natural to conclude, that one of the lists will al-  
‘ ways be returned without an exception : For this  
‘ reason, my Lords, as well as on account of the  
‘ natural uncertainty and changeableness of a free e-  
‘ lection, I shall be no way surpris’d, if some of  
‘ the noble Lords now in this house be not rechosen  
‘ at the next election : The capacity and the quali-  
‘ fications of the noble Lords, we have now the  
‘ happiness to have from that country, are well  
‘ known, and no man has a better opinion of them  
‘ than I have ; yet I make no doubt, but that there  
‘ are other Lords in *Scotland* of equal capacity, and  
‘ equally qualified for representing the Peerage of  
‘ that kingdom in this house ; and if they should  
‘ send up some new representatives, in the room of  
‘ some of those who are now here, I shall be very  
‘ far from imputing it to any undue influence ; on  
‘ the

‘ the contrary, I shall from thence conclude, that  
 ‘ the election has been absolutely free and uncon-  
 ‘ trouled.

‘ As to the contriving and making laws against  
 ‘ corruption, the other house of Parliament, my  
 ‘ Lords, has very good reason for so doing: It has  
 ‘ been often proved, at the bar of that house, that  
 ‘ bribery and corruption has been practised in the  
 ‘ most flagrant manner, at the election of some of  
 ‘ those who have been returned members of that  
 ‘ house; and therefore they have often had a most  
 ‘ substantial reason for taking the alarm, and for  
 ‘ providing against that mortal foe to the constitu-  
 ‘ tion of their country, who, they perceived, had  
 ‘ already attacked it in the most tender part: But  
 ‘ for God’s sake, my Lords, what reason have we  
 ‘ for this alarm? Has it ever been proved at the  
 ‘ bar of this house, has it ever yet been so much as  
 ‘ pretended by any Lord in this house, that the six-  
 ‘ teen Peers for *Scotland*, or any one of them, was  
 ‘ elected by the means of bribery and corruption, or  
 ‘ by the means of any other sort of undue influence?  
 ‘ Is not this a material difference between this house  
 ‘ and the other? Is it not from thence clear, that  
 ‘ we have no manner of reason for contriving any  
 ‘ law against corruption? And much less have we a  
 ‘ reason for coming to any such resolution as is now  
 ‘ proposed.’

To this it was replied, by those who spoke in fa-  
 vour of the motion, in substance as follows.

Reply for  
 the Mo-  
 tion.

‘ I find, my Lords, it is admitted of all sides,  
 ‘ that the giving or promising of money, or other  
 ‘ reward, or the making use of any sort of threaten-  
 ‘ ings or promises, in order to influence the e-  
 ‘ lection of the Peers of *Scotland*, is directly con-  
 ‘ trary to law, and therefore it is needless to say any  
 ‘ thing farther as to that point; but as to sollicita-  
 ‘ tions,



' tions, or asking of votes, I must beg leave to ex-  
 ' plain it a little. I shall agree with those Lords  
 ' who have spoke upon the other side of the question,  
 ' that every Lord of that country may be a candi-  
 ' date, and as such may apply to the other Lords  
 ' for the favour of their votes at the ensuing electi-  
 ' on; and as the law now stands (though I wish it  
 ' were otherwise) every Lord may ask the same fa-  
 ' vour for those of his friends, who may likewise be  
 ' candidates; but with regard to ministers of state,  
 ' and those in high offices under the crown, there is  
 ' a great difference as to the manner of application  
 ' which they make use of, in order to obtain the fa-  
 ' vour for which they solicit; if they ask the favour  
 ' in an humble manner, only as private men, and  
 ' without any thing of the ministerial air, either for  
 ' themselves or their friends, they do not, I believe,  
 ' offend against the laws now in being; but if any  
 ' thing of the minister appears in their manner of  
 ' asking, it may be of the most fatal consequence to  
 ' the freedom of the election.

' In order to explain what I mean, I shall take  
 ' an example from the elections of the other house:  
 ' Though a gentleman be a commissioner of the  
 ' treasury, or of the admiralty, he may, without  
 ' doubt, set up as a candidate to represent any coun-  
 ' ty, city or borough in *Great Britain*; he may ask  
 ' the electors for the favour of their votes, and  
 ' wherever he has a natural interest, he may make  
 ' use of that interest in favour of his friends; but if  
 ' he should make interest either for himself or his  
 ' friends, not as a private gentleman, but as a Lord  
 ' of the treasury, or of the admiralty, and as such  
 ' should, by his agents, send his commands to those  
 ' who depend, or may expect to depend upon the  
 ' board to which he belongs, with directions how to  
 ' vote, or for whom to make interest, in any coun-  
 ' ty, city or borough in *Great Britain*, such a me-  
 ' thod of application would be highly criminal; it  
 ' ought



‘ ought, I think, to be deemed high treason. In  
‘ like manner, my Lords, if upon an approaching  
‘ election in *Scotland*, any Lord of that kingdom,  
‘ who happened to be in a high office under the  
‘ crown, should, by himself or his agents, so much  
‘ as insinuate, that the King, the government, the  
‘ ministry, or the like, expected that any Lord of  
‘ that kingdom would vote for such a man, or such  
‘ a list, such a solicitation, I say, my Lords, might  
‘ be fatal to the freedom of that election, and  
‘ would consequently be highly criminal: And this  
‘ distinction ought to be particularly attended to,  
‘ when we talk of solicitations in any election what-  
‘ ever.

‘ As our laws now stand, my Lords, we ought  
‘ to be particularly watchful in this respect; and  
‘ considering the vast power lodged in the crown,  
‘ considering the many favours the ministers of the  
‘ crown have to bestow, I am afraid our utmost  
‘ watchfulness would signify nothing, if any such  
‘ attempts should ever be made by those in power.  
‘ It is impossible to prevent the ministers of the  
‘ crown, or their agents, intermeddling some way  
‘ or another, almost in every election in *Great Bri-  
‘ tain*: Let them make their application in the most  
‘ humble manner, let them make use of the most  
‘ modest expressions that can be thought of, those  
‘ they apply to will depend upon their favour, if  
‘ they comply with their request; and if they refuse  
‘ to comply, they may, they will expect their ma-  
‘ lice: The request of a man in power, tho’ made  
‘ in the most humble manner, must always necessa-  
‘ rily imply a threat if denied, a promise if compli-  
‘ ed with: This must necessarily have a great influ-  
‘ ence upon all elections, and if obedience to such  
‘ requests, should once be found to be the only  
‘ road to preferment, either in church or state, they  
‘ will soon become fatal to the boasted liberties of  
‘ this nation.

‘ It

‘ It was for this reason, my Lords, that I lately, in this committee gave my vote for having all future elections of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland* made by ballotting. It was for this reason, my Lords, that I most heartily concurred in agreeing to that bill, which in the late King’s reign was passed by this house, for making so many hereditary Peers for *Scotland*, and for limiting the power of the crown, with respect to the creating of any new Peers of *Great Britain*. That necessary bill was thrown out in the other house ; it was thrown out (I do not know how) by the assistance even of some of those who have always pretended to be patrons of liberty. My opinion was then, my opinion is so still, that it was the best contrived bill for the preservation of the liberties of this country, that was ever brought into either house of Parliament ; and I must say, that if I had had the misfortune to have been one of those who opposed that bill, I should from that moment have thrown up all pretences to my being a lover of liberty ; I should have expected that every man would have told me, that I made use of that popular pretence only as a step to power, but that he saw plainly I had no regard for it, when it came in competition with any of my own little private views.

‘ Suppose, my Lords, that the laws now in being are fully sufficient for preserving our constitution against the baneful effects of corruption ; suppose that they want no addition or amendment ; yet is it not an usual thing, may it not sometimes be a necessary thing to revive such laws ? Does not his Majesty often do it by proclamation ? And the only way that either house of Parliament can revive any law, is by a resolution. Suppose again, that the laws in being are not sufficient to preserve us against all manner of undue influence in elections ; we all know, that a new law for amending and strengthening the old, is not so easily contrived,

‘ nor so easily passed ; it requires some time to consider the laws in being, to discover their defects, to find out the methods of evading them, and to contrive proper precautions against such evasions ; all this requires time, and when this is done, we are not sure that the other house will join with us in opinion, we are not sure that the King will consent to what both houses have agreed to. In the mean time, is it not very proper, may it not be absolutely necessary to endeavour to put some check to the growing evil ? There have, ’tis true, been many laws lately passed for regulating the elections in the other house, and for preventing corruption as to them ; but has there ever any one been passed in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, for regulating the elections of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland* ? Does not that election now depend only upon the common law, and upon that act of the last *Scottish* Parliament, by which the manner of electing those Peers was regulated ? Suppose that act to be sufficient for guarding against corruption, yet it is now so long ago, that it may be, and, in my opinion, it is very proper to revive it : But, my Lords, it is plain that the election of those sixteen Peers is not fully regulated, nor the evils of corruption sufficiently guarded against, either by the common law, or by that act of the *Scottish* Parliament. The very committee we are now in, shews the contrary : Your Lordships would never have agreed to the going into this committee, if you had thought that no regulation or amendment was necessary : We are all sensible of the deficiency, but we have not yet, it seems, fallen upon a proper method to make up that deficiency ; and till that can be done, let us do what is now in our power ; let us agree to the resolution proposed. It will at least justify this house to the world ; if ever there was any undue influence made use of at that election, if there shall be any such at the next election, it

‘ it will shew that the majority of this house were innocent ; it will shew that we endeavoured to provide against it as soon as we could.

‘ What is now proposed, is so far from being an indignity offered to his Majesty, that the very pretending that it is so, or that his Majesty would take it as such, is one of the greatest indignities that can be offered to him. Can it be thought that this house is so short-sighted as never to provide against an evil till it has fallen upon us ? The very pretending to think so of this house, or of either house of Parliament, is, in my opinion, a very high indignity to both : Can it be thought that his Majesty would look upon any provision made by either house of Parliament, for the safety of our constitution, as an indignity offered to him ? No, my Lords, every wise King, such as his Majesty is, must be heartily engaged in the preservation of our constitution, because that if any wrong be done, he is justified by the very nature of our constitution, his ministers and evil counsellors only are to bear the blame. This indeed may make ministers, and certainly will make wicked ministers endeavour to overturn our constitution ; but a just and a wise King will always join with his Parliament in preventing the bad effects of evil counsellors, as well as in bringing them to condign punishment.

‘ Was it, my Lords, ever pretended that the late King looked upon the Peerage bill I have now mentioned, as an indignity offered to him ? Might it not have then been said, that the passing of such a bill would have made the world suppose, that his late Majesty had made some unjust use of the prerogative of the crown in the creation of Peers ? Might not this, I say, have been pretended with as much justice as to pretend now, that our coming to the resolution proposed will make the world believe, that his present Majesty has countenanced,



' or at least suffered, some wicked practices to be  
 ' made use of in the election of the sixteen Peers for  
 ' *Scotland*? Every one of your Lordships must see,  
 ' that there was then as much ground for the one  
 ' pretence as there is now for the other: Yet so far  
 ' was his late Majesty from harbouring any thought  
 ' that an indignity was thereby offered to him, that  
 ' he approved of the bill before it was brought into  
 ' this house. He not only approved of that bill,  
 ' my Lords, but he made use of an expression which  
 ' ought never to be forgot; an expression which  
 ' ought to be, which always will be remembered,  
 ' by every true *Briton*: He told his ministers,  
 ' *Gentlemen, consider what may be wanting for the*  
 ' *security of your constitution; for whatever may be*  
 ' *thought necessary for that purpose, I am ready to*  
 ' *consent to.* And as his present Majesty inherits  
 ' the crown of his father, so I know he inherits all  
 ' those good qualities which shone forth with so  
 ' much lustre in him. Therefore, my Lords, we  
 ' are not in the least to suspect, that his present  
 ' Majesty will look upon this resolution, or any re-  
 ' solution we can come to, for preventing sixteen  
 ' ministerial Peers being always forced in upon us  
 ' from *Scotland*, as an indignity offered to him.

' As the proposition now before us, cannot be  
 ' thought to be an indignity offered to his Majesty's  
 ' government, so neither can it be thought any sort  
 ' of affront to the Peerage of *Scotland*: On the con-  
 ' trary, every man of honour, as all the Peers of  
 ' that nation are, must take it as a piece of the ut-  
 ' most regard that can be shewed to them: It is not  
 ' easily to be presumed, that any of the present  
 ' Peers of *Scotland* can be biassed by bribery, by  
 ' threats, or by promises; but neither we, nor they,  
 ' can tell what sort of men their posterity may be;  
 ' nor can any man certainly conclude, that every  
 ' one of such a great number of men, will have  
 ' virtue enough to withstand the great temptations,  
 ' which



' which an enterprising minister, sole master of the  
 ' ear of his master, may be able to throw in their  
 ' way; and therefore all that is, or can be design-  
 ' ed by the present motion, is, to prevent them, or  
 ' their posterity, from being led into temptation;  
 ' and to put it out of the power of any minister, to  
 ' make any of the present or future Peers of *Scot-*  
 ' *land* suffer, for their adhering strictly to the rules  
 ' of honour and virtue: The pretence for this affront  
 ' is built upon the same sandy foundation with the  
 ' former; it is built upon the supposition, that this  
 ' house can never think of providing against an e-  
 ' vil till it has actually happened: But to me, my  
 ' Lords, it is still something more extraordinary to  
 ' ask in this case, why should the Peers of *Scotland*  
 ' be thus particularly distinguished from the other  
 ' Peers of *Great Britain*? Is it possible to make a  
 ' question of this? Does not every man, at first  
 ' sight, see that the Peers of *Scotland* are, by the  
 ' very nature of our constitution, distinguished from  
 ' the other Peers of *Great Britain*? Is there any o-  
 ' ther Peer of *Great Britain*, who has any thing to  
 ' do with elections? I must then leave it to your  
 ' Lordships to consider, how odd it would have  
 ' looked, to have proposed such a resolution in ge-  
 ' neral terms: If it had been proposed in general  
 ' terms, it must have run thus, *That the giving or*  
 ' *promising any sum of money, or other reward, to any*  
 ' *Peer of Great Britain, for giving his vote at any e-*  
 ' *lection, was an high insult,*——And if it had  
 ' been proposed in such terms, would not every  
 ' man, who knows any thing of our constitution,  
 ' have had reason to have laughed at such a propo-  
 ' sition?

' Without doors, my Lords, there are suspicions  
 ' that some of the former elections of *Scottish* Peers  
 ' have proceeded from undue influence: We of this  
 ' house are, and have been personally acquainted  
 ' with most of the Peers of *Scotland*, we know their

' honour and their integrity, and therefore we con-  
 ' clude, that there is no ground for such suspicions ;  
 ' but those who have not had the honour of a perso-  
 ' nal acquaintance with them, must judge from e-  
 ' vents ; and notwithstanding what a noble Lord was  
 ' pleased to say about the election of the 16 Peers  
 ' for *Scotland*, in the latter end of the reign of Queen  
 ' *Anne*, it must appear a little odd to those who are  
 ' not particularly acquainted with the history of  
 ' that time : A great majority of the *Scottish* Peers  
 ' had but a few years before agreed to the union, by  
 ' which the Protestant succession was established in  
 ' that kingdom ; and to see that a great majority of  
 ' the same men (for there could not be any great  
 ' change by death in that time) should so soon af-  
 ' ter join together in undermining that Protestant  
 ' succession, must, I say, my Lords, appear a little  
 ' extraordinary to the generality of mankind : They  
 ' will not believe, that two such contrary events  
 ' could proceed from the same cause, and therefore  
 ' they will be apt to conclude, that there was some  
 ' foul play in one, or perhaps in both.

' To pretend, my Lords, that a whole body of  
 ' men will naturally interest themselves, so passiona-  
 ' ly and so zealously, in the dispute about the wis-  
 ' dom and uprightness of the measures of any mi-  
 ' nister or ministers, as to sacrifice thereto all ties  
 ' of blood, all ties of gratitude, friendship, and ac-  
 ' quaintance, is really something very new. It is  
 ' well known, that such a fervent zeal never takes  
 ' place but in the time of, or in the prelude to a ci-  
 ' vil war ; and God forbid it should ever be in the  
 ' power of any minister to involve this nation in such  
 ' a calamity, for the sake of justifying his measures :  
 ' Even in the time of civil wars, it has often hap-  
 ' pened, that private and personal friendships have  
 ' subsisted to the very last, between public enemies :  
 ' How then can it be supposed, that any Lord of  
 ' *Scotland* should, at the next, or any future elec-  
 ' tion,

' tion, naturally agree to leave out of his list of 16  
 ' Peers, some Lords who are his near relations, his  
 ' old friends, and his great benefactors, and fill up  
 ' in their room others, who are no way related to  
 ' him, with whom he never had any intimate acquaint-  
 ' tance, from whom he never received any favour :  
 ' That this, my Lords, should be a natural effect,  
 ' or that it should proceed from a furious zeal for or  
 ' against the measures of the administration, is im-  
 ' possible to conceive ; and therefore, if any of the  
 ' noble Lords we have now among us, whose zeal  
 ' for the Protestant succession cannot be doubted of  
 ' or exceeded ; whom I know to be related to many  
 ' of the noble families in *Scotland* ; whom I know to  
 ' be intimately acquainted with many of the present  
 ' Peers of that kingdom ; whom I know to have done  
 ' great favours to many of them, and whose capa-  
 ' city and services are known to the whole world ;  
 ' if such, I say, should at the ensuing election be  
 ' left out, and others chosen in their stead, who are  
 ' related to few of the Peers of *Scotland*, who are  
 ' acquainted with few of them, who have never been  
 ' benefactors to any of them, and whose capacity  
 ' shall be found not to be near equal to the capacity  
 ' of those left out ; I shall be very apt to conclude,  
 ' I am afraid the generality of mankind will con-  
 ' clude, that this was not the effect of an honourable  
 ' and free election.

' I shall admit, my Lords, that bribery and cor-  
 ' ruption in the election of the members of the o-  
 ' ther house, has been often proved at their bar ; I  
 ' wish it had been as often proved as it has been  
 ' practised ; I shall admit that this was a reason,  
 ' tho' not the only reason for their taking the alarm :  
 ' But, my Lords, we find that they have lately ta-  
 ' ken the alarm, and have done what they could to  
 ' prevent a practice which has never yet been pro-  
 ' ved at the bar of that house : So far as I can re-  
 ' member, it was never yet proved at the bar of

' that house, or so much as alledged in the house,  
 ' that any particular member, after he was chosen  
 ' and returned, had been influenced in his way of  
 ' voting in that house, by bribes, pensions, threaten-  
 ' ings, or promises; and yet against this practice  
 ' they have, I think, most justly taken the alarm,  
 ' and have several times sent up a bill to this house  
 ' for preventing that practice: Therefore, if we  
 ' follow the example of the other house, we are not  
 ' always to wait till a pernicious practice has been  
 ' proved at our bar. In private life a man may be long  
 ' justly suspected before he can be openly accused of  
 ' a crime; and as high crimes are carried on in the  
 ' most secret manner, they are less liable to be dis-  
 ' covered, and may therefore be carried on for ma-  
 ' ny years before such a proof can be had, as may  
 ' enable either the public, or any private man, to  
 ' commence a prosecution. Shall a private man ne-  
 ' glect to secure the doors and windows of his house,  
 ' because no thieves had ever attempted to enter? If  
 ' he does so, my Lords, the thieves will probably  
 ' enter; and after they are entered, he may perhaps  
 ' find it a very difficult matter to get them out a-  
 ' gain, till they have robbed the house of every thing  
 ' that is valuable. In like manner, are we to ne-  
 ' glect to secure this house against corruption, be-  
 ' cause we cannot as yet positively say that it has ever  
 ' endeavoured to enter? My Lords, if we don't in  
 ' time secure all the avenues to this house against  
 ' such a cunning betrayer, it will be impossible for  
 ' us to keep him out. And if he once enter, it will  
 ' be absolutely impossible for us to turn him out, till  
 ' he has robbed us of that precious jewel, the liberty  
 ' of our country, which has always been, and al-  
 ' ways must be left in the keeping of the two houses  
 ' of Parliament; for I am very well assured, that it  
 ' will for ever be impossible to prove at the bar of  
 ' this house, the practice of corruption, to the con-  
 ' viction



‘ viction of those who have got their seats here by  
‘ the means of corruption.

‘ Upon hearing this new sort of doctrine broached  
‘ in this house, I cannot, my Lords, but reflect with  
‘ deep concern upon an observation made upon our  
‘ country, by a *French* gentleman who was taken  
‘ with the Marshal *Tallard*, at the battle of *Hockstet*,  
‘ and was afterwards several years a prisoner in *Eng-*  
‘ *land*. When he returned to *France*, he was giving  
‘ an account of his observations upon *England*, and  
‘ among the rest he told his company, That the  
‘ *English* had a thing among them which they cal-  
‘ led a nuisance; that is, gentlemen, says he, any  
‘ thing that is offensive to the neighbours, or that  
‘ may probably do a mischief to the passengers:  
‘ For removing of things of this nature, the *English*  
‘ have very good laws; but so indolent, so negli-  
‘ gent are those people, that they seldom or never  
‘ think of removing a nuisance till it has done some  
‘ notable mischief. An example of this kind hap-  
‘ pened in the neighbourhood where I was quarter-  
‘ ed: There was in a by-road a timber-bridge upon  
‘ a very deep river in that neighbourhood; and soon  
‘ after I arrived there, a large hole happened to be  
‘ broke through in the middle of that bridge; I  
‘ passed that way, I observed the hole, I took no-  
‘ tice of it to all the gentlemen in the country; I  
‘ repassed several times that way, still the hole was  
‘ there, and daily grew bigger; it continued so for  
‘ many months: The laws were sufficient for re-  
‘ moving this nuisance, for enforcing the reparation  
‘ of this bridge, but no man would be at the pains  
‘ to put them in execution: At last an unfortunate  
‘ gentleman, of some distinction, passing that way,  
‘ in a dark night, his horse stumbled into this hole,  
‘ fell through, was drowned, and the gentleman  
‘ himself much hurt. Then the justices of the peace  
‘ met, and immediate orders were given for repair-  
‘ ing the bridge: I do not know but the gentleman  
‘ found



‘ found means to recover the value of his horse, but  
 ‘ no man could make reparation to him for the pain  
 ‘ he endured. This, my Lords, was the *French*  
 ‘ gentleman’s observation upon our country, and  
 ‘ really what I have this day heard from some noble  
 ‘ Lords, who oppose this motion, makes me begin  
 ‘ to think it was just. But let us consider, my  
 ‘ Lords, that if we make no provision in the case  
 ‘ now before us, if we leave this hole unmended,  
 ‘ till that which is the support of our constitution, a  
 ‘ free election, has fallen through, it will be im-  
 ‘ possible to prevent our constitution’s falling through  
 ‘ at the same time ; and both must certainly perish  
 ‘ in that nauseous gulph of corruption.

‘ For this reason, my Lords, I hope, I must beg,  
 ‘ that a negative may not be put upon the resolution  
 ‘ now proposed ; if a negative should be put upon  
 ‘ it, if it should be even but delayed, I shall most  
 ‘ heartily wish the motion had never been made ; for  
 ‘ it will be a foundation for so much triumph to the  
 ‘ dealers in corruption, if any there be ; it will cast  
 ‘ such a damp upon all future attempts against  
 ‘ corruption, that I am afraid the practice will soon  
 ‘ come to be barefaced in every part of our con-  
 ‘ stitution.

*Die Lunæ, 18 Martii, 1733.*

**T**HE order of the day being read, for taking  
 into consideration matters relating to the  
 election of the Peers of that part of *Great Britain*  
 called *Scotland*.

It was moved to resolve, That it is the opinion of  
 this house, That, in election of Peers for *Scotland*,  
 any person or persons taking upon him or them, to  
 engage the votes of any Peers of *Scotland* by threats,  
 promise of place or pension, or any reward or gra-  
 tuity from the crown whatsoever, is an incroachment  
 on

on the freedom of elections, and highly injurious to the honour of the Peerage.

And a question being stated thereupon :

After debate,

It was moved to put the previous question.

After farther debate,

The previous question was put, Whether the said stated question shall be now put ?

It was resolved in the negative.

Contents	43 }	60	Not Contents	73 }	99
Proxies	17 }		Proxies	26 }	

*Dissentient.*

1. **B**Ecause we apprehend, that this resolution, being only declaratory of undeniable truths, ought not to be avoided by a previous question, since we fear the leaving it undetermined, may tend to encourage practices dangerous to our constitution in general, and to the honour and dignity of this house in particular.

2. Because we think this house cannot shew too strong an abhorrence of practices, which, whether they have been committed or not in former elections, are yet of such a nature, as may possibly be attempted by a minister, who may find it necessary to try all methods to secure a majority in this house, either to promote his *future ambitious views*, or *screen his past criminal conduct*.

Suffolk,  
Marchmont,  
Shaftsbury,

Gower,  
Winchelsea,  
Bedford,

Ker,  
Bristol,  
Bolton,

Chesterfield,

Chesterfield,	Strafford,	Bruce,
Willoughby de Br.	Bathurst,	Oxford and Mort.
Tadcaster,	Coventry,	Craven,
Cardigan,	Berkshire,	Northampton,
Foley,	Tbanet,	Griffin,
Litchfield,	Stair,	Marlborough,
Tweeddale,	Aylesford,	Montrose.
Abingdon,	Cobham,	

*Die Martis, 26 Martii, 1734.*

Protests  
relating to  
the plan-  
tations.

THE house was moved, that the select committee appointed the 7th instant, to consider of the representation of the commissioners for trade and plantations, relating to the laws made, manufactures set up, and trade carried on, in any of his Majesty's colonies and plantations in *America*, which may have affected the trade, navigation and manufactures of this kingdom, be impowered to inquire of the proper methods for encouragement and security of all trade and manufactures in the said Plantations, which no way interfere with the trade of *Great Britain*, and which may be of use to the trade of *Great Britain*, and for the better security of the plantations themselves.

And a question being stated thereupon,

It was proposed after the word [*Encouragement*] to leave out [*and Security*.]

Which being objected to, and debate thereupon, the question was put, Whether the words [*and Security*] shall stand part of the question?

It was resolved in the negative.

Content . . . 28.

Not Content . . . 52.

Then

Then it was proposed, That these words, at the latter end of the motion, *viz. (and for the better security of the plantations themselves)* be left out,

And the same being objected to,  
The question was put, Whether those words shall stand part of the question?

It was resolved in the negative.

*Dissentient.*

**B**Ecause we apprehend, That if the safety of the plantations themselves is not thought a matter worthy the consideration of the Parliament, it is of little consequence to consider of their laws, manufacture, or trade.

Bedford,	Tadcaster,	Aylesford,
Bathurst,	Litchfield,	Gower,
Berkshire,	Thanet,	Stair,
Tweeddale,	Carteret,	Northampton,
Abingdon,	Winchelsea and	Montrose,
Coventry,	Nottingham,	Bristol,
Strafford,	Bolton,	Marchmont.

Then the question was put, Whether the said committee shall be empowered to inquire of the proper methods for the encouragement of all trade and manufactures of the plantations in *America*, which no way interfere with the trade of *Great Britain*, or which may be of use to *Great Britain*?

It was resolved in the negative:

*Dissentient.*

1. **B**Ecause we apprehend, that the new powers proposed to be given to the committee, were not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, since (by the account given by several Lords who attended the

the committee, and contradicted by none) it appeared to the house, that from the informations of merchants of undoubted credit, *Jamaica, Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Islands*, were in so defenceless and miserable a condition, that they might be taken in twenty-four hours; and we conceive, that such imminent danger of such valuable possessions required an immediate and minute examination, in order to discover the causes and nature of the danger, and to apply proper and adequate remedies.

2. Because we conceive, that the chief reason urged in the debate against this inquiry, is the strongest argument imaginable for it, *viz.* That it might discover the weakness of these islands in the present critical juncture of affairs, and invite our enemies to invade them: Whereas we think, that this critical juncture calls upon us, to put our possessions in a state of defence and security in all events; and since we cannot suppose that their present defenceless condition is unknown to those powers who are the most likely to take the advantage of it, we apprehend it to be both prudent and necessary, that those powers should at the same time know, that the care and attention of this house was employed in providing for their security. We conceive likewise, that such an argument may tend to debar a house of Parliament from looking into any of our affairs, either foreign or domestic; if, in any transaction at any time there shall appear to have been a *weak, treacherous, or negligent management*, the directors will never fail to lay hold of that argument, to stop any parliamentary inquiry; and the fear of discovering a national weakness may be urged only to prevent the detection of *ministerial negligence, or guilt.*

3. Because



3. Because we have found by experience, that we can never be too attentive to the preservation of the possessions and dependencies of this kingdom, since treaties alone will not bind those powers, who from the proximity of their situations, from favourable opportunities, or rather inducements, may be tempted to attack or invade them. But the interposition of a *British* Parliament will be more expeditious, and more effectual, than the occasional expedients of fluctuating and variable negotiations, which, in former times, have been often more adapted to the present necessities of the minister, than to the real honour, and lasting security of the nation.

4. Because we apprehend, the debarring this house from any inquiry into the conduct of ministers for the time past, or from giving their advice in matters of great concern to the publick, for the time to come, tend to destroy the very being of this house, and, of consequence, the whole frame of our constitution: And how melancholy a view must it be to all his Majesty's subjects, to see the private property of so many particulars, and so advantageous a trade to the whole, refused to be brought under the inspection of this house, and yet (as far as it appears to us) totally neglected by the administration? And we are the more surprised to find this backwardness, with regard to the interest of our colonies, since we are persuaded, that the balance of trade at present is against us in most parts of the world, and only compensated in some degree by what we gain by our *West-India* trade: Neither can we allow, that they ought to be left to look after themselves, since they have a right to claim even more than the protection of their mother-country, by the great wealth they annually transmit to it, and the great duties they pay to the increase of the public funds, and the civil list; and we are fully convinced, that if this beneficial trade should once be lost, it will be irrecoverably lost, to the infinite

nite damage of this kingdom. For tho' the islands should be restored to us afterwards, the utensils and stock of negroes being carried away, it would take up a long tract of time, and would be a very great expence to the public, to re-instate them in their present condition: We rather think it impracticable to restore them, tho' we can by no means suppose it difficult, by timely precaution, to prevent their destruction.'

<i>Chesterfield,</i>	<i>Stair,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>
<i>Tadcaster,</i>	<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Thanet,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Tweeddale,</i>
<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Bolton,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Winchelsea and</i>	<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Marchmont.</i>
<i>Nottingham,</i>	<i>Abingdon,</i>	

Besides the supply voted for the sea service, and that for the army, the house of Commons in a committee on the supply came, on *Friday* the 15th of *February*, to several resolutions, which were on *Monday* the 18th reported, and agreed to by the house, and are as follow, viz.

Resolutions for the supply.

That there should be granted to his Majesty,

For the ordinary of the navy, (including half-pay for sea officers) for the year 1734,

l. s. d. q.

202,670 05 09 0

Towards the support of the royal hospital at *Greenwich*, for the better maintainance of the seamen of the said hospital, worn out and become decrepid in the service of their country,

10,000 00 00 0

For

For defraying several extraordinary expences and services incurred, and not provided for by Parliament,

48,126 04 00  $\frac{1}{2}$

For out-pensioners of *Chelsea* hospital, for the year 1734,

25,057 05 10 0

For reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces, and marines, for the year 1734,

52,690 15 10 0

For paying of pensions to the widows of such reduced officers of his Majesty's land forces, and marines, as died upon the establishment of half-pay in *Great Britain* (and who were married to them before the 25th day of *December*, 1716) for the year 1734,

3,586 00 00 0

For the charge of the office of ordnance for land service for the year 1734,

85,199 10 03 0

For defraying the extraordinary expence of the office of ordnance for land service, not provided for by Parliament,

1,614 07 06 0

For making good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1733,

287,343 05 01 0

---

In all 716,287 14 03  $\frac{1}{2}$

On *Monday*, the 4th of *March*, the said committee came to a resolution with respect to the navy debt, which was next day reported, and agreed to by the house, and is as follows, viz.

That there should be granted  
to his Majesty towards paying off  
the debt of the navy,

l. s. d.

1,200,000 00 00

And on *Wednesday* the 6th of *March*, the said committee came to some other resolutions, which were next day reported, and agreed to by the house, and are as follow, *viz.*

That there should be granted to his Majesty,

Towards the repair of the  
collegiate church of *St. Peter*,  
*Westminster*,

l. s. d. q.

4,000 00 00 0

Towards making good the  
deficiency of the general fund,

48,516 14 06  $\frac{1}{4}$

Towards the maintainance of  
the *British* forts and settlements  
belonging to the royal *African*  
company of *England*, on the  
coast of *Africa*.

10,000 00 00 0

---

In all 62,516 14 06  $\frac{1}{4}$

Sinking  
fund appli-  
ed to the  
payment  
of the na-  
vy debt.

On *Monday* the 11th day of *March*, the house of Commons (according to order) resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider farther of ways and means for raising the supply granted to his Majesty; and a motion was made as follows, *viz.*

‘ That it should be resolved, that towards raising the  
‘ supply granted to his Majesty, there should be issued  
‘ and applied the sum of 1,200,000*l.* out of such mo-  
‘ nies as had arisen, or should or might arise, for the  
‘ surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, commonly  
‘ called the sinking fund,’ which motion was warmly  
opposed; but after a debate, the same was carried in  
the affirmative: After which the following resolution  
passed without any opposition, *viz.* ‘ That the sum  
‘ of 20,578*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* half-penny, remaining in  
‘ the

A. 1734.

# DEBATES.

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‘ the receipt of his Majesty’s *Exchequer*, on arrears  
 ‘ of former land-taxes, should be applied towards  
 ‘ raising the supply granted to his Majesty, for the  
 ‘ service of the year 1734.’ Both which resolutions  
 being next day reported to the house, were agreed to ;  
 and a bill was ordered to be brought in pursuant to  
 the first, and an instruction was ordered for the  
 land-tax bill committee, to receive a clause pursuant  
 to the second.

On *Wednesday* the 13th of *March*, upon a  
 motion made by *Philip Gybbon*, Esq; it was or-  
 dered, that the serjeant at arms attending the house  
 should go with the mace into *Westminster-hall*, and  
 into the court of requests, and places adjacent, and  
 summon the members there to attend the service of  
 the house, and he being returned,

*William Bromley*, Esq; member for *Warwick*, stood  
 up, and spoke as follows, viz.

‘ Mr. Speaker, The call of the house being ad-  
 ‘ journed to a very remote day, upon a general opi-  
 ‘ nion (which I hope is well founded) That no vote  
 ‘ of credit will be proposed, I believe we can scarce  
 ‘ expect to see a fuller house than this day produces.  
 ‘ There cannot therefore be a better opportunity of  
 ‘ making a motion, which, I apprehend to be of  
 ‘ such a national concernment, that I have long  
 ‘ wished it undertaken by some person, better able  
 ‘ to support it than myself: But I have this satisfac-  
 ‘ tion, that what I am going to offer, will so far  
 ‘ speak itself, as may supply any defects in my man-  
 ‘ ner of laying it before you, and I cannot doubt the  
 ‘ concurrence of this house, when it comes to be  
 ‘ maturely considered.

Mr. Brom-  
 ley’s  
 speech and  
 motion for  
 repealing  
 the septen-  
 nial bill.

‘ I believe we are none of us unapprised of the  
 ‘ dislike the people in general have always had to  
 ‘ long Parliaments; a dislike justly founded, on rea-  
 ‘ son and experience; long Parliaments in former



reigns having proved the unhappy cause of great  
 calamities to this nation, and having been at all  
 times declared, an innovation upon our constitution.  
 I am convinced there is no one that hears me, who  
 does not believe, the people thought themselves  
 highly aggrieved by the septennial bill: That they  
 even looked upon it as a dangerous infringement  
 of their liberties, notwithstanding the cause alledg-  
 ed in the preamble to the act, which seemed at  
 that time to carry some weight with it.

That cause being happily removed, they desire  
 to revert, as near as may be, to their ancient con-  
 stitution; and surely there can never be a more  
 favourable opportunity to effectuate it than at this  
 juncture, when his Majesty, to the great joy of  
 the kingdom, has been graciously pleased to de-  
 clare his satisfaction, that the people are soon to  
 have an opportunity of chusing a new representa-  
 tive. The present Parliament draws near its disso-  
 lution: What can it do more for its own honour?  
 How can it crown its many meritorious acts better,  
 than by redressing a grievance a succeeding Parlia-  
 ment may possibly have its reasons for not entring  
 into?

Frequent Parliaments were early declared a fun-  
 damental part of our constitution. In the 4th of  
 Edw. III. an act passed for holding them once a  
 year, or oftner if there should be occasion. In the  
 36th year of the same reign that statute was con-  
 firmed. In that Parliament *magna charta* and  
*charta de foresta* were confirmed, and several new  
 privileges granted to the subject. Then comes the  
 clause relating to Parliaments, which sufficiently  
 shews the intention and original institution of them  
 was for the redress of grievances: For the bill  
 enacts, *That for the maintainance of the said arti-  
 cles and statutes* (that is the privileges beforemen-  
 tioned) *and for redress of divers mischiefs and grie-  
 vances, which daily happen, a new Parliament shall*  
 be

*be held once every year, as another time was ordained. The 16th of Car. II. recites, That by the ancient laws and statutes, Parliaments are to be held very often, and therefore enacts, That the sitting and holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted or discontinued for more than three years.*

*In the early days when this prudent care was taken for frequent meeting of Parliaments, the crown was possessed of revenues, which made applications to the people for money, unless upon extraordinary emergencies, unnecessary. It therefore plainly appears, That redress of grievances, making salutary laws, for the good of the community, and preserving the liberties of the people, by supporting a due balance between the power of the crown and the rights of the subject, were the main ends of calling Parliaments. The power of calling them being the undoubted prerogative of the crown, it became necessary, for the safety of the subject, to oblige the crown to call them frequently. I must confess, Sir, a caution of this kind is no longer necessary, nor can it ever be, so long as we preserve to ourselves the power of granting money; the crown revenues being sunk, or wantonly granted away, the annual call for a supply must necessarily produce an annual meeting of Parliament. But give me leave to observe, the grievance now complained of, is of a very different nature: It is not founded on discontinuance of Parliaments, but on a too long and dangerous continuance of one and the same Parliament: A practice unheard of in former times, when prorogations were not known: For when a Parliament was annually called for the redress of grievances, as soon as the business of the session was over, it was dissolved, and a new one called the next year for the same purpose; by which means the country had a proper check upon their representatives; and those who had appeared to be too much under the influence of the crown,*

‘ those who were too much attached to the minister,  
 ‘ had less opportunity of injuring their country ; the  
 ‘ people had it more frequently in their power to  
 ‘ shew a proper resentment, and remedy the evil, by  
 ‘ sending others the next year in their places.

‘ This matter seems fully explained by 16 Car. II.  
 ‘ which does not only prevent discontinuance of Par-  
 ‘ liaments, but *wisely provides against the too long con-*  
 ‘ *tinuance of one and the same Parliament*, by enact-  
 ‘ ing it into a law, *That a new Parliament shall be*  
 ‘ *called once in three years, or oftner if there be occa-*  
 ‘ *sion*. The bill of rights in the second session of  
 ‘ *William and Mary*, among many other privileges  
 ‘ which we now enjoy, enacts, That for redress of  
 ‘ grievances, amending, strengthening and preserv-  
 ‘ ing laws, Parliaments ought to be *frequently held* ;  
 ‘ and the sixth of the same reign, explains the true  
 ‘ meaning of the clause, when it declares, *That fre-*  
 ‘ *quent and new Parliaments tend very much to the*  
 ‘ *happy union and good agreement between the King and*  
 ‘ *the people* ; it confirms the 16 Car. II. that Par-  
 ‘ liaments shall be held once in three years at least,  
 ‘ and adds, *That no Parliament shall continue more*  
 ‘ *than three years at farthest*. Between that and the  
 ‘ first of the late King, several Parliaments were  
 ‘ held, and none continued longer than three years ;  
 ‘ some held only for one session ; which seems to be  
 ‘ the original constitution, and best calculated for the  
 ‘ good of the nation. That year the septennial bill  
 ‘ past ; the repeal of which I am now going to  
 ‘ move ; but believe it more agreeable to the rules of  
 ‘ the house, that the act itself should be first read.

[*Act read.*]

‘ The preamble to the bill, which is the founda-  
 ‘ tion of it, will, I think, Sir, admit a very easy  
 ‘ answer ; as to the first point, *That triennial Par-*  
 ‘ *liaments have proved more grievous, burthensome and*  
 ‘ *expen-*

' *expensive, than they were ever known before that law*  
 ' *past, I readily agree : But let us consider the cause,*  
 ' *The lengthening the term occasioned the expence. I*  
 ' *fear I might add, the multiplicity of places enjoyed*  
 ' *by members of this house, may be too justly al-*  
 ' *ledged another cause. But I would willingly con-*  
 ' *fine myself to the particular point, how far the term*  
 ' *or duration of Parliaments might increase or lessen*  
 ' *the expence, might add to or diminish the grie-*  
 ' *vance complained of. And I will consider it only*  
 ' *in this light, by submitting it to every gentleman*  
 ' *that hears me, whether he would not give more*  
 ' *for an annuity of three years, than for a grant de-*  
 ' *terminable at the end of one : And by the same*  
 ' *parity of reasoning, whether septennial Parliaments*  
 ' *must not prove more grievous, burthensome and*  
 ' *expensive than triennial, at least in such a degree,*  
 ' *as an annuity for seven years deserves a better con-*  
 ' *sideration than one for three.*

' But supposing, Sir, I should be out in this point,  
 ' which I can never give up without due conviction ;  
 ' this argument in the preamble is, I hope, intirely  
 ' at an end. The act against bribery and corrup-  
 ' tion (which must ever redound to the honour of  
 ' this Parliament) will necessarily remedy this evil.  
 ' That glorious act will prevent corruption in the  
 ' electors. Nothing but frequent new Parliaments  
 ' can remedy it in the elected.

' The other reason upon which that act was  
 ' founded, namely, a suspicion, that designs were  
 ' carrying on to renew the rebellion, and an invasion  
 ' from abroad, was, in my humble opinion, the  
 ' only justifiable pretence for enacting it into a law ;  
 ' and might possibly have induced some gentlemen  
 ' of very great honour and integrity, to give their  
 ' votes for the bill at that juncture, whose assistance,  
 ' I flatter myself, I shall now have in repealing it :  
 ' For those, Sir, who voted for it from that view,

‘ could never intend it should be made perpetual, or  
 ‘ that it should continue longer than that misfortune  
 ‘ subsisted.

‘ I must beg pardon of you, Sir, and of the house,  
 ‘ for the trouble I have given you. The nature of  
 ‘ the motion I am going to make you, has unavoid-  
 ‘ ably drawn me into a length as disagreeable to my-  
 ‘ self, as it must have been to those that hear me.  
 ‘ Numberless arguments will occur to every gentle-  
 ‘ man in favour of it ; I will therefore conclude with  
 ‘ this motion,

‘ *That leave be given to bring in a bi'll for repealing  
 ‘ the septennial act, and for the more frequent meeting  
 ‘ and calling Parliaments.*

‘ In this, Sir, I hope I shall be justified, as it  
 ‘ cannot proceed from any indirect or private views,  
 ‘ but from a real conviction, that the happiness and  
 ‘ safety of this nation depends upon it ; in which  
 ‘ I am supported by the common voice of the peo-  
 ‘ ple, and have it particularly recommended to me,  
 ‘ by a great majority of those I have the honour to  
 ‘ represent in Parliament, as well as from my neigh-  
 ‘ bours of the city of *Coventry*, for whose recommen-  
 ‘ dation I shall always have a due regard, though I  
 ‘ have not the honour to represent them.’

Sir *John St. Aubin*, one of the Knights of the  
 shire for *Cornwall*, stood up next, and spoke as fol-  
 lows, viz.

‘ *Mr. Speaker,*

Sir *John*  
*St. Aubin's*  
 Speech.

‘ The hon. gentleman who made you this mo-  
 ‘ tion, has supported the necessity of it by so many  
 ‘ strong and forcible arguments, that there is hardly  
 ‘ any thing new to be offered. I am very sensible  
 ‘ therefore of the disadvantages I must lie under, in  
 ‘ attempting to speak after him ; and I should con-  
 ‘ tent myself with barely seconding him, if the sub-  
 ‘ ject matter of this debate was not of such import-  
 ‘ ance,



‘ance, that I should be ashamed to return to my  
‘electors, without endeavouring, in the best manner  
‘I am able, to declare publicly the reasons which  
‘induced me to give my most ready assent to this  
‘question.

‘’Tis evident, from what has been said, that the  
‘people have an unquestionable right to frequent new  
‘Parliaments by ancient usage; and that this usage  
‘has been confirmed by several laws, which have  
‘been progressively made by our ancestors, as often  
‘as they found it necessary to insist on this essential  
‘privilege.

‘Parliaments were generally annual, but never  
‘continued longer than three years, ’till the remark-  
‘able reign of *Henry VIII.*——He, Sir, was a  
‘Prince of unruly appetites, and of an arbitrary  
‘will: He was impatient of every restraint; the laws  
‘of God and man fell equally a sacrifice, as they  
‘stood in the way of his avarice, or disappointed his  
‘ambition: He therefore introduced long Parlia-  
‘ments, because he very well knew, that they would  
‘become the proper instruments of both; and what  
‘a slavish obedience they paid to all his measures is  
‘sufficiently known.

‘If we come to the reign of King *Charles* the first,  
‘we must acknowledge him to be a Prince of a con-  
‘trary temper; he had certainly an innate love for  
‘religion and virtue, and of consequence for the li-  
‘berty of his country.——But here lay the mis-  
‘fortune——He was led from his natural dispo-  
‘sition by sycophants and flatterers; they advised  
‘him to neglect the calling of frequent new Parlia-  
‘ments, and therefore by not taking the constant  
‘sense of his people in what he did, he was worked  
‘up into so high a notion of prerogative, that the  
‘Commons (in order to restrain it) obtained that  
‘independant fatal power, which at last unhappily  
‘brought him to his most tragical end, and at the  
‘same time subverted the whole constitution. And

‘I hope

‘ I hope we shall learn this lesson from it, never to  
 ‘ compliment the crown with any new or extrava-  
 ‘ gant powers, nor to deny the people those rights,  
 ‘ which by ancient usage they are intitled to ; but to  
 ‘ preserve the just and equal balance, from which  
 ‘ they will both derive mutual security, and which,  
 ‘ if duly observed, will render our constitution the  
 ‘ envy and admiration of all the world.

‘ King *Charles* the second naturally took a surfeit  
 ‘ of Parliaments in his father’s time, and was there-  
 ‘ fore extremely desirous to lay them aside. But this  
 ‘ was a scheme impracticable. However, in effect  
 ‘ he did so : For he obtained a Parliament, which,  
 ‘ by its long duration, like an army of *veterans*,  
 ‘ became so exactly disciplined to his own measures,  
 ‘ that they knew no other command but from that  
 ‘ person who gave them their pay.

‘ This was a safe and most ingenious way of en-  
 ‘ slaving a nation. — It was very well known,  
 ‘ that arbitrary power, if it was open and avowed,  
 ‘ would never prevail here. — The people were  
 ‘ therefore amused with the specious form of their  
 ‘ ancient constitution : It existed, indeed, in their  
 ‘ fancy ; but, like a mere phantom, had no sub-  
 ‘ stance nor reality in it ; for the power, the autho-  
 ‘ rity, the dignity of Parliaments were wholly lost.  
 ‘ — This was that remarkable Parliament which  
 ‘ so justly obtained the opprobrious name of the  
 ‘ PENSION PARLIAMENT, and was the model  
 ‘ from which, I believe, some later Parliaments have  
 ‘ been exactly copied.

‘ At the time of the revolution, the people made  
 ‘ a fresh claim of their ancient privileges ; and as  
 ‘ they had so lately experienced the misfortune of  
 ‘ long and servile Parliaments, it was then declared,  
 ‘ That they should be held frequently. — But, it  
 ‘ seems, their full meaning was not understood by  
 ‘ this declaration ; and therefore, as in every new  
 ‘ settlement the intention of all parties should be spe-  
 ‘ cifically

‘ cifically manifested, the Parliament never ceased  
 ‘ struggling with the crown, till the *triennial law*  
 ‘ was obtained : The preamble of it, which the ho-  
 ‘ nourable gentleman has recited, is extremely full  
 ‘ and strong, and in the body of the bill you will  
 ‘ find the word *declared* before *enacted*, by which I  
 ‘ apprehend, that though this law did not immedi-  
 ‘ ately take place at the time of the revolution, it  
 ‘ was certainly intended as declaratory of their first  
 ‘ meaning, and therefore stands a part of that ori-  
 ‘ ginal contract under which the constitution was  
 ‘ then settled. — His Majesty’s title to the crown,  
 ‘ is primarily derived from that contract ; and if,  
 ‘ upon a review, there shall appear to be any devi-  
 ‘ ations from it, we ought to treat them as so ma-  
 ‘ ny injuries done to that title. And I dare say,  
 ‘ that this house, which has gone through so long  
 ‘ a series of services to his Majesty, will at last be  
 ‘ willing to revert to those original stated measures  
 ‘ of government, to renew and strengthen that  
 ‘ title.

‘ But, Sir, I think the manner in which the *sep-*  
 ‘ *tennial law* was first introduced, is a very strong  
 ‘ reason why it should be repealed. — People, in  
 ‘ their fears, have very often recourse to desperate  
 ‘ expedients, which, if not cancelled in season, will  
 ‘ themselves prove fatal to that constitution, which  
 ‘ they were meant to secure. — Such is the nature  
 ‘ of the *septennial law* ; it was intended only as a  
 ‘ preservative against a temporary inconvenience :  
 ‘ The inconvenience is removed, but the mischiev-  
 ‘ ous effects still continue ; for it not only altered the  
 ‘ constitution of Parliaments, but it extended that  
 ‘ same Parliament beyond its natural duration ; and  
 ‘ therefore carries this most unjust implication with  
 ‘ it, That you may at any time usurp the most in-  
 ‘ dubitable, the most essential privilege of the peo-  
 ‘ ple. — I mean that of chusing their own repre-  
 ‘ sentatives. A precedent of such a dangerous con-  
 ‘ sequence

‘ sequence, of so fatal a tendency, that I think it  
 ‘ would be a reproach to our statute-book, if that  
 ‘ law was any longer to subsist, which might record  
 ‘ it to posterity.

‘ This is a season of virtue and public spirit.  
 ‘ Let us take advantage of it, to repeal those laws  
 ‘ which infringe on our liberties, and introduce such  
 ‘ as may restore the vigour of our ancient constitu-  
 ‘ tion.

‘ Human nature is so very corrupt, that all obli-  
 ‘ gations lose their force, unless they are frequently  
 ‘ renewed.—Long Parliaments become therefore  
 ‘ independent of the people, and when they do so,  
 ‘ there always happens a most dangerous dependence  
 ‘ elsewhere,

‘ It has of late been denied, that the people have  
 ‘ a right of remonstrating to us.—It has been  
 ‘ called an unjustifiable controul upon the freedom  
 ‘ of our proceedings.—But then, let them have  
 ‘ more frequent opportunities of varying the choice  
 ‘ of their representatives, that they may dismiss such  
 ‘ as have unfaithfully withdrawn their attention  
 ‘ from them.

‘ The influencing powers of the crown are daily  
 ‘ increasing, and it is highly requisite that Parlia-  
 ‘ ments should be frequently responsible to their con-  
 ‘ stituents; that they should be kept under the con-  
 ‘ stant awe of acting contrary to their interests.—  
 ‘ Modern history, I believe, will inform us, that  
 ‘ some very dangerous attempts upon our liberties  
 ‘ have been disappointed.—Not so much from  
 ‘ the virtue of many in this house, as from the ap-  
 ‘ prehensions they may have had of an approaching  
 ‘ election.

‘ It is true, there is a provision against such whose  
 ‘ places vacate their seats here, but this is no guard  
 ‘ against *secret pensioners* and *place-holders*. Give me  
 ‘ leave to say, that the laws, with respect to them,  
 ‘ are very insufficient, and as we were not allowed

‘ to

‘ to make them effectual, the people have no other  
‘ remedy but a new election.

‘ I think that long Parliaments are a great hard-  
‘ ship upon those who may be excluded out of this  
‘ house, and ought reasonably to take their turn.—  
‘ But seven years is the purchase of a man’s life. It  
‘ is equally hard upon such whose private fortunes  
‘ won’t admit them to engage in so long and painful  
‘ a service.—It must be so to those who mean no  
‘ view nor advantage by it.

‘ I think too, that nothing can be of greater use  
‘ to his Majesty than frequent new Parliaments.—  
‘ That he may often take the fresh sense of the na-  
‘ tion, and not be partially advised. For his mea-  
‘ sures will always have a greater weight both at  
‘ home and abroad, the more generally he refers him-  
‘ self to the opinion of his people.

‘ A farther mischief of long Parliaments is, that  
‘ a minister has time and opportunities of getting ac-  
‘ quaintance with members, of practising his several  
‘ arts to win them into his schemes.—But this  
‘ must be the work of time.—Corruption is of  
‘ so base a nature, that at first sight it is extreme-  
‘ ly shocking.—Hardly any one has submitted  
‘ to it all at once.—His disposition must be pre-  
‘ viously understood, the particular bait must be  
‘ found out with which he is to be allured, and af-  
‘ ter all, it is not without many struggles that he  
‘ surrenders his virtue.—Indeed, there are some,  
‘ who will at once plunge themselves over head and  
‘ ears into any base action, but the generality of man-  
‘ kind are of a more cautious nature, and will pro-  
‘ ceed only by leisurely degrees.—One or two per-  
‘ haps have deserted their colours the first campaign,  
‘ some have done it a second.—But a great many,  
‘ who have not that eager disposition to vice, will  
‘ wait till a third.

‘ For this reason, short Parliaments have been  
‘ less corrupt than long ones; they are observed,  
‘ like



‘ like streams of water, always to grow more im-  
 ‘ pure the greater distance they run from the foun-  
 ‘ tain-head.

‘ I am aware, it may be said, that frequent new  
 ‘ Parliaments will produce frequent new expences,  
 ‘ but I think quite the contrary ; I am really of opi-  
 ‘ nion, that it will be a proper remedy against the  
 ‘ evil of bribery at elections, especially as you have  
 ‘ provided so wholesome a law to co-operate upon  
 ‘ these occasions.

‘ Bribery at elections, whence did it arise ? Not  
 ‘ from country gentlemen, for they are sure of be-  
 ‘ ing chosen without it ; it was, Sir, the invention of  
 ‘ wicked and corrupt ministers, who have, from  
 ‘ time to time, led weak Princes into such destruc-  
 ‘ tive measures, that they did not dare to rely upon  
 ‘ the natural representation of the people. — Long  
 ‘ Parliaments, Sir, first introduced bribery, because  
 ‘ they were worth purchasing at any rate ; —  
 ‘ Country gentlemen, who have only their private  
 ‘ fortunes to rely upon, and have no mercenary ends  
 ‘ to serve, are unable to oppose it, especially if at  
 ‘ any time the public treasure shall be unfaithfully  
 ‘ squandered away to corrupt their boroughs. —  
 ‘ Country gentlemen, indeed, may make some weak  
 ‘ efforts, but as they generally prove unsuccessful,  
 ‘ and the time of a fresh struggle is at so great a  
 ‘ distance, they at last grow faint in the dispute, give  
 ‘ up their country for lost, and retire in despair. —  
 ‘ Despair naturally produces indolence, and *that* is  
 ‘ the proper disposition for slavery. Ministers of  
 ‘ state understand this very well, and are therefore  
 ‘ unwilling to awaken the nation out of its lethargy,  
 ‘ by frequent elections. — They know that the spi-  
 ‘ rit of liberty, like every other virtue of the mind,  
 ‘ is to be kept alive only by constant action, that it  
 ‘ is impossible to enslave this nation, while it is per-  
 ‘ petually upon its guard. — Let country gentle-  
 ‘ men then, by having frequent opportunities of ex-  
 ‘ erting

' erting themselves, be kept warm and active in their  
 ' contention for the public good : This will raise  
 ' that zeal and indignation, which will at last get  
 ' the better of those undue influences, by which the  
 ' officers of the crown, though unknown to the se-  
 ' veral boroughs, have been able to supplant coun-  
 ' try gentlemen of great characters and fortune, who  
 ' live in their neighbourhood. — I don't say this  
 ' upon idle speculation only. — I live in a country  
 ' where it is too well known, and I'll appeal to ma-  
 ' ny gentlemen in the house, to more out of it (and  
 ' who are so for this very reason) for the truth of  
 ' my assertion. Sir, it is a sore which has been long  
 ' eating into the most vital part of our constitution,  
 ' and I hope the time will come when you will  
 ' probe it to the bottom. — For if a minister should  
 ' ever gain a corrupt familiarity with our boroughs,  
 ' if he should keep a register of them in his closet,  
 ' and, by sending down his treasury-mandates, should  
 ' procure a *spurious* representative of the people, the  
 ' offspring of his corruption, who will be at all times  
 ' ready to reconcile and justify the most contradicto-  
 ' ry measures of his administration, and even to vote  
 ' every crude indigested dream of their patron into  
 ' a law ; if the maintenance of his power should be-  
 ' come the sole object of their attention, and they  
 ' should be guilty of the most violent breach of Par-  
 ' liamentary trust, by giving the King a discre-  
 ' tionary liberty of taxing the people without limitation  
 ' or controul ; the last fatal compliment they can  
 ' pay to the crown. — If this should ever be the  
 ' unhappy circumstance of this nation, the people  
 ' indeed may complain ; but the doors of that place  
 ' where their complaints should be heard, will for  
 ' ever be shut against them.

' The power of the crown is very justly appre-  
 ' hended to be growing to a monstrous, I should  
 ' have said, too great a size, and several methods  
 ' have

‘ have been unsuccessfully proposed for restraining it  
 ‘ within its proper bounds.

‘ But our disease, I fear, is of a complicated na-  
 ‘ ture, and I think that this motion is wisely in-  
 ‘ tended to remove the first and principal disorder.  
 ‘ ——— Give the people their ancient right of fre-  
 ‘ quent new elections ; that will restore the decayed  
 ‘ authority of Parliaments, and will put our consti-  
 ‘ tution into a natural condition of working out her  
 ‘ own cure.

‘ Sir, upon the whole, I am of opinion, that I  
 ‘ can’t express a greater zeal for his Majesty, for the  
 ‘ liberties of the people, or the honour and dignity  
 ‘ of this house, than by seconding the motion which  
 ‘ the honourable gentleman has made you.’

Mr. Con-  
 duit’s  
 speech.

*John Conduit*, Esq; member for *White Church* in  
*Hampshire*, spoke next, in substance as follows, viz.  
 ‘ Sir, as I happen to differ in opinion from the two  
 ‘ honourable gentlemen who have spoke in favour  
 ‘ of this motion, I shall endeavour to follow them in  
 ‘ every thing they have said, and give my reasons  
 ‘ for not thinking the arguments they have made  
 ‘ use of any way conclusive. They have talked a  
 ‘ great deal of our ancient constitution, and seem, I  
 ‘ think, mighty desirous of reverting to it; but if  
 ‘ gentlemen will consider the disadvantages, as well  
 ‘ as the advantages, which attended every part of  
 ‘ our old constitution, I believe they will not be so  
 ‘ very fond of returning to it. I shall agree that  
 ‘ there were such old statutes as have been mentioned,  
 ‘ relating to the frequent holding of Parliaments;  
 ‘ but that gentlemen may recollect a little the nature  
 ‘ of those Parliaments, and the rights and preroga-  
 ‘ tives which the crown at that time enjoyed, or at  
 ‘ least pretended to, I shall beg leave to read some  
 ‘ extracts, which I have taken from one of our most  
 ‘ judicious writers, about parliamentary affairs; I  
 ‘ mean

mean the famous Mr. *Prinne*, (here he read some extracts from his writings, shewing the many powers and prerogatives which our Kings of old pretended to.) ' Thus we may see that the Kings of *England* had anciently such prerogatives, as would be very inconsistent with those privileges which the people of this nation now enjoy. This was our old constitution, and I should be glad to know, if it be to this form of government that gentleman would now have us to return.

' The honourable gentleman mentioned next the heavy complaints that were made against King *Charles* the First, and his son King *James* the Second, and the great misfortunes which both these Princes fell into by not giving ear to those complaints: But I must take notice, that there never was a complaint against either of them for continuing the same Parliament too long; all the complaints against both were, for not calling or holding any Parliament for several years together; and this it was that brought all their misfortunes upon them. And as to the long Parliament in King *Charles* the second's reign, it is certain that there was a great deal more reason to complain against their conduct during the first years of their sitting than there was towards the latter end; so that no part of the history of either of these three reigns can afford so much as a plausible argument in favour of the motion now made to us.

' It has been alledged, Sir, that the crown must always necessarily have a much greater influence upon septennial Parliaments, than it can ever have upon those which are chosen and continued only for three years: But it is my opinion, if ever the crown should attempt; if ever any ministry should be wicked enough to endeavour to gain a corrupt influence over the Parliament, it will be as easy to gain it over the one sort of Parliament as over the



other ; for if ever the members chosen and returned, or the majority of them, should be such as will stoop to corruption, the infection may be easily spread, the alluring baits may be thrown out in seven days as well as seven years ; nor do I think it such a difficult or tedious affair to find out who may be the persons proper to be wrought on ; that is a knowledge that may be easily acquired after the elections are over, and before it may be necessary for the Parliament to meet : Nay, if ever such a thing should happen (which I hope never will) I am convinced it would be much more easy for such a ministry to manage a triennial Parliament, than it will ever be to manage a septennial ; for it is well known how strongly men may be wrought on by hopes and promises ; and it is certain, that by such hopes and promises ; some might be kept firmly attached to a court and ministry for two or three years, who could not be kept so for four or five ; therefore I must conclude, as hopes and promises are more easily given than pensions or bribes, it would be more easy for the ministers to keep a triennial Parliament depending upon them, than to keep a septennial in any sort of dependence : And as to past times, we by experience find, that the court has never gained much by long Parliaments ; on the contrary, we have always found that the party against the court has gradually increased in number by the long continuance of the Parliament, insomuch that from a small minority in the beginning, they have often come up to very near an equality, sometimes to a majority before the end ; so that if we reason either from the nature of mankind or from experience, we must conclude, that the liberties of the people are better secured by septennial than they can ever be, by triennial Parliaments.

The present power of the crown has been set in the most hideous light, and the number of places

now



now at the disposal of the crown, has been represented as of the most dangerous consequence to the independency of Parliament: But in this I must think that gentlemen are likewise very much mistaken: I must even think that the disposal of those posts and places which are necessary for the support of our government, rather weakens the influence and interest of the crown, both in the Parliament and in the country; because it is certain, that there is never any post or place to be disposed of, for which there are not three or four candidates at least; the crown can give it but to one, and by giving it to any one of the four, the other three are disappointed and disobliged, by which the crown very probably raises up three enemies, for the sake of securing one friend, upon whom no very great dependance can perhaps be had; for if it be a place for life, the person who got it becomes then independent upon the crown, and may soon come to be disobliged by being refused some second favour. This every man who hears me, must by his own experience be convinced of, and therefore tho' it be absolutely necessary for the executive part of our government, which is lodged in the crown, to have the disposal of those posts and places, yet it cannot from thence be inferred, that the power of the crown is thereby greatly increased.

The honourable gentlemen seemed to insinuate, that the principal motive for passing the septennial bill, now no longer subsisted; but in this also I must beg leave to differ from them. It is true, one of the motives for passing that bill was, the great ferment which the nation was then in; but this was not the principal motive, and if it had been so, that motive is very far from ceasing to subsist: Does not every gentleman know what a spirit of discontent, nay, I may say of disaffection, was awfully raised over the whole nation but last year?

‘ And can any gentleman say that that spirit is now  
 ‘ totally subsided? Or can any gentleman believe  
 ‘ that there was not a great deal of the spirit of *Ja-*  
 ‘ *cobitism* at the bottom of those discontents, which  
 ‘ were then without any ground endeavoured to be  
 ‘ raised? I am persuaded, Sir, that the ferment the  
 ‘ nation is now in, and the ferment it was in when  
 ‘ the septennial bill was passed into a law, proceed  
 ‘ originally from the same cause, therefore I must  
 ‘ take the motive for continuing it, to be now much  
 ‘ the same with that which was then for enacting it;  
 ‘ and as the motive is now the same, I hope it will  
 ‘ prevail with this house not to repeal a law from  
 ‘ which the nation has received so great benefit.

Sir *Tho-*  
*mas Ro-*  
*binson's*  
 speech.

Sir *Thomas Robinson*, member for *Morpeth* in  
*Northumberland*. ‘ Sir, I cannot content myself with  
 ‘ barely giving a negative to this proposition, but  
 ‘ must beg your indulgence in offering a few reasons  
 ‘ which will induce me to be against it; and to make  
 ‘ two or three observations upon what has fallen from  
 ‘ the honourable gentlemen who have introduced and  
 ‘ spoke in favour of it.

‘ In my opinion, Sir, we should fix the duration  
 ‘ of Parliaments to a shorter or a longer period, ac-  
 ‘ cording as it will promote the welfare of the nation,  
 ‘ and support and strengthen our present constitu-  
 ‘ tion; and when that is once fixed, the considera-  
 ‘ tion, whether the thing be popular or unpopular,  
 ‘ or whether it may be consonant to the practice of  
 ‘ our ancestors, ought not to influence any gentle-  
 ‘ man in giving his vote.

‘ It has been said by the honourable gentleman  
 ‘ who spoke first, that the renewing of the triennial  
 ‘ bill will lessen the expences at elections. Sir, I think  
 ‘ nothing is more demonstrable, than that frequent  
 ‘ elections will always occasion frequent expences, and  
 ‘ other irregularities too notorious not to lye within  
 ‘ the compass of every man's observation; and that  
 ‘ men's

men's minds, which never fail to be inflamed in a contest between two parties, will always preserve those heats in view of a quick return of electing: That these and many other inconveniences can be fairly charged on triennial elections is indisputably true; and if septennial Parliaments do not intirely remove these evils, at least they mitigate their influence.

Gentlemen have urged, that expences at elections are voluntary; this is indeed in some measure true, but, by this alteration of the law, the temptation will never be at a great distance; the opportunity for corruption, idleness and debauchery, will happen once in three years, instead of once in seven; for I am afraid the law we have lately made, which the honourable gentleman who made the motion has taken notice of, cannot yet have produced the good effect we expected from it: Reformations of any kind cannot be brought about on a sudden, especially in things of this nature, where the lower class of the people are parties concerned.

Sir, the law for triennial Parliaments continued in force for 22 years: In that time many inconveniences were found to arise from it; and it was likewise found that in many respects it did not answer the end for which it was made. I think it lies upon those gentlemen who are advocates for this proposition, and which ought to be the foundation of their arguments in support of it, to shew us what the evils are which are attendant upon septennial Parliaments, and how they would be removed by the alteration proposed: If they had done this, if any such thing could be done, the argument would have some weight; but to me this appears so far from being the case, that on the contrary, the many good laws that have passed in favour of the subject, shew how little reason the people of *England* have to be displeased with the

‘ actions of their representatives, since the septennial  
 ‘ act took place, which is 18 years ago : What is  
 ‘ done within every man’s memory cannot be liable  
 ‘ to any misrepresentation. Histories of former Par-  
 ‘ liaments, or of past times, may be partially relat-  
 ‘ ed, but our own experience cannot deceive us ;  
 ‘ and I appeal to those who now hear me, whether  
 ‘ we have yet had any reason to complain of the con-  
 ‘ duct of septennial Parliaments.

‘ And besides, Sir, there is no mischief can be  
 ‘ done to the subject in a septennial Parliament,  
 ‘ which may not be done in a triennial ; but on the  
 ‘ contrary, the short duration of a triennial will  
 ‘ not allow sufficient time to the compleating many  
 ‘ good undertakings, which may be accomplished  
 ‘ by a septennial ; mischief being of its own nature  
 ‘ of quick growth, and soon brought to maturity ;  
 ‘ whereas, schemes for a general good ripen by slow  
 ‘ degrees, and require a length of time in rearing up  
 ‘ to perfection.

‘ Gentlemen have brought arguments in support  
 ‘ of this proposition from the practice and laws of  
 ‘ our forefathers, and deduce the expediency of the  
 ‘ triennial bill, from the original formation of our  
 ‘ constitution. For my part, I do not comprehend  
 ‘ what is meant by our old constitution, and there-  
 ‘ fore when gentlemen make use of the expression,  
 ‘ *our old constitution*, I must look upon it as an inde-  
 ‘ finite term, which can admit of no direct answer :  
 ‘ But would they fix it to a reign, or to any certain  
 ‘ number of years, I could undertake to shew, that,  
 ‘ in no period of time they shall fix on, since the  
 ‘ conquest, we ever had such a one as we should be  
 ‘ now willing to submit to, and rest satisfied with :  
 ‘ I know of no settled constitution till the revolu-  
 ‘ tion ; it is from that happy period I date our  
 ‘ having any at all. It may indeed be agreeable  
 ‘ to the ancient laws of the realm, that there should  
 ‘ be frequent Parliaments, that is, that Parliaments  
 ‘ should



‘ should be frequently holden ; but from whence will  
‘ gentlemen prove, that it has been established as a  
‘ fundamental maxim in what is called our old con-  
‘ stitution, that there should be frequent elections ;  
‘ sure at least I am, if the nature of our constitu-  
‘ tion required that there should be such, the prac-  
‘ tice of our ancestors has not always corresponded  
‘ with it.

‘ It would be a tedious task to shew in what man-  
‘ ner Parliaments have been called and holden, and  
‘ to trace out all the variations of our laws, or ra-  
‘ ther practice, in this respect, since the conquest ;  
‘ 200 years after which, I believe, there was no such  
‘ thing in being as a house of commons, at least, if  
‘ there was any such assembly, they met but very  
‘ seldom : But gentlemen’s thoughts will prevent me  
‘ in what I could offer on this head, and therefore I  
‘ shall not enter into a detail of particulars, with  
‘ which many others may be much better acquaint-  
‘ ed ; only, in general, I will venture to say, that  
‘ from the earliest records of time to the revolution,  
‘ the crown made use of their prerogative so far with  
‘ regard to Parliaments, that the people never knew  
‘ when there would be a new election, or how long  
‘ the power, they gave their representatives when  
‘ elected, might be continued to them : If we look  
‘ back into our history, we shall find, in some reigns,  
‘ Parliaments chosen by the people, and dissolved  
‘ by the crown, before they were suffered to meet at  
‘ all ; in other reigns a very long intermission of  
‘ Parliaments ; and in others again a Parliament  
‘ perhaps in being, but for many years successively  
‘ not once suffered to sit. These, Sir, were  
‘ real grievances : And in this reforming age, we  
‘ seem to be as uneasy, and as fond of taking pre-  
‘ cautions against imaginary dangers, as ever our an-  
‘ cestors were about providing against those that were  
‘ real.



‘ My worthy friend and contemporary at the uni-  
 ‘ versity, who seconded the motion, has shewn the  
 ‘ practice of several of our former Kings in this par-  
 ‘ ticular, and indeed has spoken in favour of the  
 ‘ motion, with so much decency and weight, that  
 ‘ it requires one much better skilled than I am in  
 ‘ our *English* History and Parliamentary proceed-  
 ‘ ings, to do the same justice to the other side of the  
 ‘ question; but he has quoted two reigns, which  
 ‘ will, in my opinion, both turn against the motion  
 ‘ he has so handsomely supported. These, Sir, are  
 ‘ the reigns of King *Charles* the First, and King  
 ‘ *Charles* the Second; but before I take notice of  
 ‘ them, give me leave to mention another reign, I  
 ‘ mean that of Queen *Elizabeth*, which both the  
 ‘ worthy gentlemen have very prudently avoided  
 ‘ mentioning upon this occasion, tho’ it be a reign  
 ‘ that is seldom forgot to be brought upon the car-  
 ‘ pet, when a comparison is to be made, in order  
 ‘ to depreciate the actions and measures of the pre-  
 ‘ sent times: In the long reign of that Queen, a  
 ‘ reign which lasted 44 years, there were in all but  
 ‘ ten Parliaments chosen, in these ten Parliaments  
 ‘ there were but 13 sessions, and, except the last,  
 ‘ never any one of these sessions continued many  
 ‘ weeks together. Besides, Sir, however glorious  
 ‘ the reign of that Princess may be in other re-  
 ‘ spects, yet it is certain, that in many instances  
 ‘ she used her Parliaments in such a manner, as I  
 ‘ hope, we shall never see Parliaments treated for the  
 ‘ future.

‘ As for the reign of King *Charles* the First, I  
 ‘ little expected, Sir, that reign would have been in-  
 ‘ troduced in this debate, especially by those who are  
 ‘ advocates for this question; for surely that reign  
 ‘ ought to be buried in oblivion, by those who would  
 ‘ plead for the liberty of the subject, and are for  
 ‘ lessening the prerogative of the crown; because, in

‘ no

‘ no preceding reign was the last ever carried higher,  
‘ or the other in greater danger of being utterly  
‘ subverted and destroyed. Were it necessary for  
‘ the point I am contending for, I would undertake  
‘ to prove, that as long as he had any power, he  
‘ was daily attempting, by his prerogative, to have  
‘ made Parliaments useless; and therefore I shall  
‘ easily agree with the honourable gentleman, that  
‘ he neglected calling frequent new Parliaments; but  
‘ give me leave farther to observe, that during that  
‘ King’s reign, no Parliament was called, there was  
‘ not so much as one in being: No! not for twelve  
‘ years together; during which time history does  
‘ not give the most favourable account of him, with  
‘ respect to his several attempts upon the liberties of  
‘ his subjects, which the honourable gentleman has  
‘ put a very handsome gloss upon, by saying, that  
‘ these attempts were made by the advice of sycophants and flatterers: Whoever the authors were,  
‘ Sir, the facts are true, and the consequences, had  
‘ they not been prevented, must have proved fatal  
‘ to the rights of the People. When I have said  
‘ this, I would not have it understood as if I approved of the steps afterwards taken, by which that  
‘ unfortunate Prince was brought to his tragical and  
‘ untimely end; but as his fate ought to be a warning to all future Princes, not to make any incroachments upon the liberties or privileges of the subject,  
‘ so it ought to be a warning to all those that are true  
‘ lovers of our constitution, to be extremely cautious  
‘ of introducing any new regulations or unnecessary  
‘ amendments. And this, Sir, I take to be a lesson  
‘ much more proper for the present question than  
‘ that which my honourable friend has been pleased  
‘ to recommend to us from the fate of that Prince:  
‘ since the question is not now about complimenting  
‘ the crown with any new or extravagant powers, nor  
‘ about denying the people any of those rights which  
‘ they are intitled to by law.

‘ I was

' I was equally surpris'd, Sir, to hear the long  
 ' Parliament of King *Charles* the Second (which con-  
 ' tinued 17 years) so much as mentioned by those  
 ' who are for shortening the duration of Parliaments;  
 ' for, in my opinion, the conduct of that Parlia-  
 ' ment, if it proves any thing, shews, that the long  
 ' duration of a Parliament does not necessarily make  
 ' it intirely subservient to the will of the Prince.  
 ' Tho' that Parliament has since been treated with  
 ' great indignity, tho' I will not now take upon me  
 ' to determine whether it deserved the usage it has  
 ' met with from some people; yet I think I may  
 ' say, that a majority of the members thereof, espe-  
 ' cially towards the end of it, were steady in the sup-  
 ' port of the liberties of the people; and had not  
 ' they made a noble stand against the attempts of the  
 ' crown in those days, we should not now have been  
 ' debating this point.

' Thus, Sir, the instance of this Parliament, if it  
 ' proves any thing, I say, proves that the Parlia-  
 ' ment which sat the longest ever any did in *Eng-  
 ' land*, could not be influenced by the crown to  
 ' come into measures inconsistent with the liberties of  
 ' the people: And if gentlemen will but recollect  
 ' the annals of that Parliament, they will find that  
 ' it was more subservient to the court, the first, se-  
 ' cond and third years, than it was the sixth or se-  
 ' venth; and it was less so the eleventh or twelfth,  
 ' than it was in the ninth or tenth: And I agree  
 ' with the honourable gentleman, that the farther it  
 ' removed from its original, the better title the mem-  
 ' bers acquired to the denomination of Veteran troops,  
 ' which he has been pleas'd to compare them to;  
 ' but this title they merited for a reason very diffe-  
 ' rent from what he has assign'd: It was not because  
 ' they knew no other command but from the person  
 ' who gave them their pay, but it was because they  
 ' became every day more and more observant of  
 ' their duty, more watchful over the liberties of their  
 ' fellow

‘ fellow subjects, and less tractable to the measures  
‘ of the court, insomuch that at last, by their perse-  
‘ vering in an honest opposition to those measures,  
‘ they forced their own dissolution ; and this always  
‘ has been, and always must be the case as to all bo-  
‘ dies of the same men, when long kept together,  
‘ and attempted to be seduced by bribery and cor-  
‘ ruption ; for few men are so intirely debauched and  
‘ abandoned to shame, but that sooner or later they  
‘ will be actuated by the love of virtue and public  
‘ good, which will at last make them stubbornly re-  
‘ sist the designs of a profligate court against the li-  
‘ berties of their country : And this was certainly  
‘ the case as to that Parliament, otherwise King  
‘ *Charles* would not so easily have parted with a Par-  
‘ liament he had been so long and with so much ex-  
‘ pence endeavouring to form to his own arbitrary  
‘ views ; therefore, Sir, if any argument is to be  
‘ drawn from this long parliament, it may certainly  
‘ be made use of as the strongest reason why a sep-  
‘ tennial Parliament should be preferred to a tri-  
‘ ennial.

‘ As a farther proof, Sir, that the balance of power  
‘ in the state is demonstrably more in favour of the  
‘ people, in a Parliament that hath its duration for  
‘ seven years, than in one chosen every third year ;  
‘ and that the crown will always have less influence  
‘ in a septennial than a triennial Parliament ; let  
‘ us but recollect what has happened ever since the  
‘ septennial law took place. As the honourable  
‘ gentleman who spoke last has already observed,  
‘ does not experience shew us that every session will  
‘ increase an opposing party ? Has it not been hi-  
‘ therto always found, that the party against the  
‘ court has in every fifth or sixth session been more  
‘ in number than it was the second or third ? And as  
‘ no step has been made to increase either the pre-  
‘ rogative or power of the crown ever since septen-  
‘ nial Parliaments have had a being, why should we



‘ go about to make an alteration in that part of our  
‘ constitution, from which we have never yet felt the  
‘ least inconvenience? Might not therefore a desire  
‘ to revert back to the practice of our ancestors in  
‘ this particular, be compared to a man in his full  
‘ growth and strength, desiring to return back to his  
‘ childhood!

‘ It has indeed been insinuated by both the ho-  
‘ nourable gentlemen, who have spoken on the  
‘ other side of the question, that undue influence has  
‘ been attempted in elections; that money has been  
‘ sent down from the treasury to gain returns from  
‘ boroughs in the country; by which the elections  
‘ have been rendered so expensive to the country  
‘ gentlemen, that it is with great difficulty they  
‘ can from their private fortunes support such ex-  
‘ pence, or withstand such influence; and this is  
‘ indeed the principal argument I have yet heard  
‘ made use of in support of this question: Tho’ I  
‘ am no way privy to, nor do I believe that any such  
‘ practices have been lately attempted; yet, Sir, up-  
‘ on this occasion, I will for argument’s sake sup-  
‘ pose it to be true; I will suppose that the court  
‘ does intermeddle in elections, and that sums of  
‘ money have been sent into the country for that pur-  
‘ pose; but how this comes to be owing to septen-  
‘ nial Parliaments I cannot comprehend: Would it  
‘ not be as much in the power of the court to inter-  
‘ meddle in the elections for a triennial, as in those  
‘ for a septennial Parliament? And if a country  
‘ gentleman can scarce bear up against these prac-  
‘ tices, when he has six years respite to recover of the  
‘ expences and trouble he may have been put to by  
‘ such attempts on his borough; for God’s sake!  
‘ how will it stand with him when the battle is to be  
‘ fought every three years? Surely he will be then  
‘ much less able to bear such expences, or to with-  
‘ stand such influence; and therefore if the Court  
‘ ever has endeavoured, or if it ever should endea-

‘ your



' your to influence elections by the force of money,  
 ' that influence would be much more dangerous in  
 ' triennial than in septennial elections; from whence  
 ' I must be of opinion, if this question should suc-  
 ' ceed, it might in time more effectually establish  
 ' the absolute power of the crown, and destroy the  
 ' liberties of the people, than any other method that  
 ' could be thought of.

' The worthy gentleman who made the motion  
 ' has told us, that an annuity for seven years is more  
 ' valuable than an annuity for three, and from thence  
 ' he seemed to infer, that a septennial Parliament  
 ' must be more expensive than a triennial, in the same  
 ' proportion as an annuity for seven years, deserves  
 ' a better consideration than an annuity for three :  
 ' But he does not consider that a Parliament for  
 ' seven years, is above twice the duration of one for  
 ' three; so that if triennial Parliaments were to  
 ' come in the place of septennial, a man must be  
 ' thrice chosen, before he can continue so long in  
 ' this house as he would do, were he to be chosen for  
 ' seven years at once; and it is certain, that the ex-  
 ' pences or the purchase (if with him we suppose  
 ' such purchases) of three, or even of two elections  
 ' for triennial Parliaments, will always amount to  
 ' more than the expences or the purchase of one  
 ' election for a septennial.

' If then the expensiveness of elections be one of  
 ' the evils attendant upon septennial Parliaments, it  
 ' is certain, the changing of them into triennial will  
 ' be so far from removing that evil, that it will ne-  
 ' cessarily increase it. And I believe some gentle-  
 ' men will, in another particular, find their expecta-  
 ' tions as little answered by the present motion: I  
 ' mean, that they will not find it so popular a mo-  
 ' tion among the generality of electors, as some of  
 ' them may imagine. It may indeed please those  
 ' of the populace who have no votes, who are fond  
 ' of noise and bustle, and who would be glad of any  
 ' change,

' change, by which they might have a more frequent  
 ' chance to get drunk and be idle. It may also  
 ' be agreeable to the lower and meaner sort of our  
 ' electors, who have heretofore perhaps too often  
 ' made their market upon such occasions; but to the  
 ' honest shop-keeper, and the quiet and fair trader,  
 ' who have no other views but to gain a comfortable  
 ' subsistence, by carrying on their respective  
 ' trades, and to the better kind of our freeholders,  
 ' and to the gentry in general; to all those sorts  
 ' of men, in short, whose inclinations we ought to  
 ' have the chief regard to, the proposing of this bill  
 ' will be found, I believe, not to be a very proper  
 ' way of paying court.

' The worthy gentlemen, Sir, who have spoken  
 ' on the other side of the question, make a very partial  
 ' use of our ancient constitution, when they plead  
 ' for a shorter duration of Parliaments, because in  
 ' former times, instances may be found of frequent  
 ' elections, but forget at the same time to remind us  
 ' of the different situation of our affairs, both at  
 ' home and abroad. Must not proper allowances  
 ' be made for the several changes which have since  
 ' happened in our constitution, and the different relations  
 ' we now bear to foreign nations! For without a parity  
 ' of circumstances, gentlemen cannot reasonably expect  
 ' an equality of consequences.

' Formerly Parliaments sat but ten, fifteen, or  
 ' twenty days, and dispatched all the business they  
 ' had before them in that time; we now sit four or  
 ' five months, and find sufficient employment; the  
 ' reason of this difference is obvious; our government  
 ' has since gone through so many changes, and  
 ' the riches and commerce of this nation have so  
 ' much increased, that this house is now engaged in a  
 ' much larger circle of business; and at the same time  
 ' hath asserted a right to several powers in the state,  
 ' which, 'till within these 100 years, the crown has  
 ' often contested: May not gentlemen as well infer,  
 ' because

‘ because some parliaments in former times have sat  
‘ but twenty days, that we ought now to follow their  
‘ practice in this particular, as to plead for a shorter  
‘ duration of Parliaments, because there may be found  
‘ instances of annual elections in remote ages.

‘ Would gentlemen, Sir, who speak so favourably  
‘ of ancient times, have our Parliaments brought  
‘ again to be entirely upon the same foot they were  
‘ formerly? Surely, no! As the law now stands, the  
‘ crown cannot possibly prolong a Parliament beyond  
‘ seven years, and as the affairs of the public are  
‘ now disposed, it must necessarily meet every year.  
‘ Formerly the crown could keep a Parliament in  
‘ being without any limitation of time for their disso-  
‘ lution, and, as I have said before, did sometimes  
‘ prevent them, tho’ elected, from ever meeting;  
‘ nay, at other times, there has been for many years  
‘ together a total intermission of Parliaments. I  
‘ therefore really think, no one can make the least  
‘ comparison on this head; at least I suppose the  
‘ worthy gentlemen would not be willing to return  
‘ to the practice of preceding times in these parti-  
‘ culars.

‘ In short, Sir, I think the septennial act as well  
‘ adapted to our present constitution, as well calcu-  
‘ lated to answer the purposes and secure the free-  
‘ dom of Parliaments, as any regulation that can be  
‘ made; and I do not know any one particular in-  
‘ stance, in which our liberty and constitution have  
‘ been more strengthened and improved since the  
‘ revolution, than by those laws which have been  
‘ made relative to the chusing, sitting, and dura-  
‘ tion of Parliaments.

‘ Before I leave this Subject, I must take this op-  
‘ portunity to return my thanks to the honourable  
‘ gentleman who called for the reading of the sep-  
‘ tennial act, because the preamble puts me in mind  
‘ of our being indebted to that law, for the preven-  
‘ tion of a second rebellion: I am convinced it was

‘ to

' to that seasonable alteration, we then owed the pre-  
 ' servation of our tranquillity, and perhaps every  
 ' thing that is dear to us ; for the minds of the peo-  
 ' ple were at that time so exasperated and inflamed,  
 ' the spirit of Jacobitism was got to such a height  
 ' in the nation, that had an election come on, after  
 ' the first Parliament of the late king ought to have  
 ' expired by the triennial act, it is not hard to say  
 ' what fatal consequences might have ensued. But  
 ' I neither mention this as thinking it intirely our  
 ' present situation, or to draw an argument from  
 ' thence, in support of what I am contending for:  
 ' However I must say, that the recollecting how  
 ' much we owe to the septennial act, makes me the  
 ' more unwilling to part with it. It is like friend-  
 ' ship in private life, where we have once established  
 ' a thorough good opinion of a man, and have re-  
 ' ceived great favours from him, it is with difficulty,  
 ' it is with great concern we are prevailed on to  
 ' give credit to any thing that may tend to his dis-  
 ' advantage.

' Many instances might be brought, Sir, to shew  
 ' the inconveniences that would attend the success of  
 ' the bill now proposed to us ; but as I have already  
 ' taken up much more of your time than I at first  
 ' intended, I shall only mention one, which is, the  
 ' great hinderance it might be in the dispatch of our  
 ' foreign negotiations. As we have been within  
 ' doors often told of reports without doors, I must  
 ' take the liberty to mention one, which we have  
 ' heard both within and without. Have we not  
 ' often heard without doors, have not we been told  
 ' in a former debate in this house, that several letters  
 ' have been lately sent to foreign courts, in order to  
 ' discourage them from treating with us at this cri-  
 ' tical juncture, by assuring them that the next en-  
 ' suing Parliament will be of a complexion very dif-  
 ' ferent from this ? I cannot in the least suppose that

such



such letters were either written or concerted by any one within these walls; but I must presume, the authors are by this time convinced of their error, since I find so much pains has lately been taken, and so much rhetoric employed, both in weekly and other papers, to persuade us of the inconvenience of the septennial act, and the necessity for repealing it; from whence I conclude, that those gentlemen, who were the authors of such letters, begin now to see that they will be disappointed in their expectations; and in order to make amends for this disappointment, they are for repealing the septennial act, that they may have a fresh opportunity of taking another trial four years hence. But be this as it will, it is certain, that what I have just mentioned may be practised, and will always be an inconvenience and a hinderance in the carrying on of our foreign affairs, towards the end of a septennial Parliament: And shall we by a new law give an opportunity and a temptation to the enemies of the government, to repeat those and such like practices and suggestions, to the great prejudice of the nation, at the end of every three years?

Before I conclude, Sir, I cannot help observing, that during the seven years I have sat in Parliament, I have heard many questions introduced into this house, which have very much surprised me. Among others, I have heard a proposition made, which, as it appeared to me, would have made the army useless upon any emergency, when we might have had the greatest occasion for their service. I have heard another question about making a perpetual law to regulate an annual constitution, which would indeed have had a quite different effect from the former; for in process of time, this last question, had it succeeded, might have made the army our sovereign; and King, Lords, and Commons, insignificant: And the proposition now



‘ before us, would, in my opinion, tend to weaken  
‘ our greatest security, I mean the landed interest of  
‘ the kingdom, by giving them frequent and unnecessary temptations to extraordinary expences, and  
‘ might farther introduce new calamities and confusions into this nation. What other question can  
‘ follow to keep rank with those, I cannot divine;  
‘ but the spirit of reformation, seems to be now so  
‘ very much the fashion, I do not doubt but fertile  
‘ imaginations will always find, and will never be  
‘ at a loss for popular topics to introduce.

‘ No state, Sir, was ever so exactly framed in all  
‘ its parts, as not to make new laws sometimes necessary to remedy the evils which time and corruption may bring upon it; and for this reason,  
‘ every state is invested with a power of altering or  
‘ repealing old laws, and substituting new ones in  
‘ their stead, where those existing are found to be  
‘ deficient: In this I shall agree with the honourable  
‘ gentlemen; but give me leave farther to observe,  
‘ that this power may be made use of, to the overthrow as well as the support of the constitution;  
‘ and therefore when we proceed to the exercise of  
‘ this part of the legislative power, especially in  
‘ things which relate to the very fundamentals of  
‘ our constitution, the worthy gentlemen will, I hope,  
‘ agree with me, that we ought to use it with the  
‘ greatest prudence and caution.

‘ At present, Sir, I think our constitution is so  
‘ well regulated in all its parts, the scales are so justly poised, as not to want any new modelling, nor  
‘ any additional weight to be thrown into the other  
‘ scale: We must be all so sensible of the happiness  
‘ we enjoy under our constitution, as now established, that our chief concern and study, ought to be  
‘ how to preserve it in the happy situation it is now  
‘ in; and if we can transmit it to our posterity in  
‘ the same lustre and perfection we now clearly perceive it to be in, our successors will have no just  
‘ reason

‘ reason to accuse the present generation, of having  
 ‘ made an ill use of that great trust, which is repo-  
 ‘ sed in every man who has a voice in this place.  
 ‘ All changes, tho’ never so well intended, are ha-  
 ‘ zardous ; but as the change now proposed appears  
 ‘ to me, I think it would certainly have a quite dif-  
 ‘ ferent effect from what these worthy gentlemen  
 ‘ expect, who are the advocates for it : I am per-  
 ‘ suaded, that instead of amending or improving, it  
 ‘ would weaken the constitution ; and therefore, I  
 ‘ think it a duty I owe my country, to give my dis-  
 ‘ sent to it, in this public manner.’

Lord Noel Somerfet. ‘ Sir, Tho’ the honourable  
 ‘ gentleman who made this motion, and the honour-  
 ‘ able gentleman who seconded it, have supported  
 ‘ it in so strong and handsome a manner, that an at-  
 ‘ tempt to add any thing to what they have said,  
 ‘ especially in one so young and unexperienced as I  
 ‘ am, may be looked on as presumption ; yet I can-  
 ‘ not help declaring my approbation of the motion  
 ‘ in the best and most public mannner I am able.

Lord Noel Somer-  
 fet’s  
 speech.

‘ The honourable gentleman who read you a long  
 ‘ extract out of master *Prinne*, seemed rather, in my  
 ‘ opinion, Sir, to divert than instruct the house ; and  
 ‘ tho’ I could not join with gentlemen in their mirth  
 ‘ upon so serious a debate, yet I must own I cannot  
 ‘ conceive to what purpose, that long extract was  
 ‘ read to us upon the present occasion : Nor can I  
 ‘ see what the question now before us, has to do with  
 ‘ the prerogative of the crown, either as now en-  
 ‘ joyed, or as claimed in any time past. Because  
 ‘ gentlemen have mentioned our old constitution, and  
 ‘ have taken notice of a particular regulation, with  
 ‘ respect to the holding of Parliaments, which was  
 ‘ then in force, and which they desire to be re-esta-  
 ‘ blished ; is it from thence to be inferred, that they  
 ‘ desire to restore, in all parts our ancient constitu-  
 ‘ tion, as it stood at any period of time ? No, Sir,

when we talk of our old constitution, with regard to any amendment or alteration now proposed, we are to pick out those customs, which appear to be good, and which ought to be restored; and we are to reject those which appear to have been bad.

The question now before us, Sir, is not whether our constitution be now in the general better regulated than it ever was at any former period. The question now before us is particular; it is, whether our constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments, was ever under a better regulation than it is at present? And that it was so, seems to me to be demonstrable from the very nature and design of Parliaments; for this house is properly the grand inquest of the nation, they are to represent the grievances of the people to their Sovereign; and the people are always to choose proper representatives for that purpose; that choice ought therefore to be annual, because the person that may be a proper representative one year, may before the next, or at least very soon after, be concerned in making the people suffer those very grievances which they want to complain of; and surely such person would not then be a proper representative of the people, nor would they choose him had they it in their power to make a new and a free choice.

This, Sir, was our old constitution, with respect to the holding of Parliaments: They were, or at least ought to have been, not only annually held, but annually chosen: It is well known that prorogations are but of a late date; they were first introduced to favour the arbitrary views of some of our ambitious Kings; and as they owed their origin to such a corrupt fountain, I am persuaded we never can from them expect any good. However, Sir, the question now before us, does not go so far, nor are we obliged to have recourse to remote ages, for a precedent for what is now proposed:

When

‘ When we now talk of our old constitution, we are  
‘ to consider it as it was settled and reformed at the  
‘ revolution, and at that time, as has been before  
‘ observed, the patrons of liberty did not think their  
‘ work was complete without having the point fully  
‘ and clearly settled; and therefore they were never  
‘ at rest till they had obtained that very law which  
‘ is now desired to be restored: For this reason I  
‘ cannot but think that gentlemen have given them-  
‘ selves a very unnecessary trouble in explaining to  
‘ us so particularly the history of former reigns, or  
‘ the complaints against former Kings; for the not  
‘ holding any Parliament at all, or the continuing  
‘ the same Parliament for a great number of years,  
‘ is in effect the same; in the last case, as well as  
‘ the first, the people have no opportunity of having  
‘ their grievances either represented or redressed, be-  
‘ cause after a number of years the members may  
‘ either become unacquainted with, and regardless of  
‘ the grievances of the people, or they may them-  
‘ selves have so great a hand in those grievances, that  
‘ for their own selfish ends they will prevent their  
‘ being redressed.

‘ It has been said, Sir, that the restoring of this  
‘ law would create great heats, and raise dangerous  
‘ contentions in the nation. If it were a new law,  
‘ a law which we never had any experience of, this  
‘ argument might have some weight, but the direct  
‘ contrary of this is known to be true, from the ex-  
‘ perience we had of it, while it was allowed to con-  
‘ tinue in force. Besides, Sir, this is one of those  
‘ arguments that prove too much; for it is as good  
‘ an argument for us to continue ourselves for seven  
‘ years longer, or indeed for a perpetual Parliament,  
‘ as it is for a *septennial*: And it is an argument that  
‘ has in all countries been made use of, for subvert-  
‘ ing the liberties of the people. In all free coun-  
‘ tries there must now and then happen some little  
‘ feuds and divisions among the people, which am-



' bitious wicked men have used all their cunning and  
 ' all their eloquence to set in the most terrible light,  
 ' and under the pretence of preventing those feuds  
 ' and divisions, have, in most countries, prevailed  
 ' upon the people to give up, or at least to allow  
 ' themselves to be robbed of those privileges which  
 ' were their only defence against tyranny and arbitrary power.

' Another objection against this motion is, that a  
 ' *septennial Parliament* is necessary, for establishing  
 ' and confirming our credit abroad. If this, Sir,  
 ' be yet to do, if our credit abroad remains yet to  
 ' be either established or confirmed, I will say that  
 ' we have lately spent many millions, and have  
 ' made many treaties to very little purpose. Is not  
 ' this likewise an argument, for settling the duration  
 ' of our Parliaments at a much longer term? For if  
 ' our credit abroad were any way strengthened by a  
 ' Parliament to continue for seven years, would it  
 ' not be much more so by a Parliament to continue  
 ' for seven times seven? But this is not the case; our  
 ' foreign neighbours judge better of the condition  
 ' and circumstances of this nation, than some of our  
 ' selves seem to do; our credit among them depends  
 ' upon their believing that there is an union and mutual  
 ' confidence between the King and his people; and is there any thing can tend more towards lessening their belief in this respect, than their hearing that the King does not incline to trust his people with a frequent choice of their own representatives? Will not every man from thence conclude, that either the people are disaffected, or that the government is pursuing such measures as they think may not be agreeable to the generality of the people? And I believe it will be allowed, that such a notion would not contribute much towards establishing or confirming our credit abroad.

While



' While no measures are pursued, but such as are  
 ' for the honour and interest of the nation, it is cer-  
 ' tain that a Parliament, sent here by the free choice  
 ' of the people for three years, or even but for one,  
 ' would be as ready to confirm those measures as a  
 ' Parliament sent here for seven years. But if ever  
 ' it should hereafter happen that measures, even de-  
 ' structive to the nation, should be pursued, only to  
 ' save and support a falling minister, or by way of  
 ' temporary expedients only, to put off the evil day  
 ' during his time, he might indeed have a better  
 ' chance to get such measures confirmed or approved  
 ' of by the members of a *septennial Parliament*, who  
 ' had such a long term to reap the fruits of their ser-  
 ' vile compliance, than he could have to get such  
 ' measures confirmed or approved of by the mem-  
 ' bers of an annual or *triennial Parliament*, who  
 ' must soon return to the people for their approba-  
 ' tion or disapprobation of what they had done:  
 ' And a parliamentary acquittal would be of much  
 ' more consequence in the first case than in the last;  
 ' for if an annual or *triennial Parliament* should be  
 ' servile enough to approve of measures contrary to  
 ' the general sense of the nation, the people would  
 ' soon have an opportunity of doing themselves ju-  
 ' stice in a new Parliament; but if the people were  
 ' to have no such opportunity for seven years, it might  
 ' then be out of their power.

' It has likewise been said, that frequent new Par-  
 ' liaments would produce frequent changes in our  
 ' administration, so that we never could steadily  
 ' pursue any measure foreign or domestic. As to  
 ' changes, Sir, in our administration, if *triennial* or  
 ' *annual Parliaments* should produce *triennial* or *an-*  
 ' *annual ministers*, it would give me no great concern,  
 ' and I dare say, the nation, very little uneasiness;  
 ' but how this should make us unsteady or unsettled  
 ' in the pursuit of our public measures, either foreign  
 ' or domestic, I cannot indeed conceive; for if the

' measures were apparently for the good of the pub-  
 ' lic, the new ministers would certainly, for their  
 ' own safety and honour, pursue them as steadily as  
 ' the old could have done ; and if the old had en-  
 ' tered upon any measures inconsistent with the good  
 ' of the nation, I think the change of ministers would  
 ' be a lucky change for the nation, because it would  
 ' put a stop to the pursuit of such measures. So that  
 ' if there were nothing else could be said in favour of  
 ' the motion, this very argument that has been made  
 ' use of against it, would be sufficient for persuading  
 ' me to give my vote for it.'

Mr. Corn-  
 wallis's  
 speech.

The honourable *John Cornwallis*, Esq; member  
 for *Eye* in *Suffolk*. ' Sir, I have indeed heard some  
 ' mention made without doors, of the proposition  
 ' now under our consideration ; but I never expect-  
 ' ed to have heard it moved in this house, especial-  
 ' ly at a time when the circumstances of *Europe*  
 ' ought to prevent our attempting any thing that  
 ' may in the least tend towards weakening our con-  
 ' stitution, or unsettling the measures of his Majesty's  
 ' government. As for my own part, Sir, the que-  
 ' stion can no way affect me : Let it be agreed to,  
 ' or let it be rejected, as to my particular circum-  
 ' stances they will remain the same ; but as we are  
 ' not to regard our private or particular interest,  
 ' but that of the whole community, in every ques-  
 ' tion that arises in this house, I therefore think I am  
 ' obliged, not only to give my vote against this que-  
 ' stion, but to give my reason, at least the principal  
 ' reason, which induces me to be against it : And it  
 ' is this, that, in my opinion, the motion seems cal-  
 ' culated for no other end, but to continue that fer-  
 ' ment and that spirit of division and disaffection,  
 ' which was so artfully raised in the nation upon a  
 ' late memorable occasion, and which has already  
 ' almost subsided, and must intirely subside, as soon  
 ' as the people shall have come to their right senses,

so

‘ so as to be able to judge coolly and impartially  
 ‘ about that affair : But this they could never come  
 ‘ to do, if the present motion should succeed ; the  
 ‘ nation would be kept always in a ferment, the di-  
 ‘ visions about one election would no sooner be over,  
 ‘ than those about another would begin, and the pas-  
 ‘ sions of the people would be every year screwed up  
 ‘ by some new art, in order to support or render  
 ‘ successful the ambitious views of some private men ;  
 ‘ this would of course very much weaken his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s government, and diminish his influence in all  
 ‘ foreign negotiations ; for which reason I shall most  
 ‘ heartily give my vote against the motion now made  
 ‘ to us.’

Colonel *Bladen*. ‘ Sir, I cannot give my assent Colonel  
 ‘ to the question now in your hand. The repeal of *Bladen’s*  
 ‘ the *septennial law* is a motion I cannot in my con-<sup>speech.</sup>  
 ‘ science agree to ; for though one of the motives  
 ‘ for enacting that law, does not at present exist in  
 ‘ such an apparent manner, as it did at the time it  
 ‘ was enacted, yet it cannot be said, that even that  
 ‘ motive has now intirely ceased ; I wish with all  
 ‘ my heart it could be justly said, that there is not  
 ‘ now a *Jacobite* or disaffected person in the nation ;  
 ‘ but I am afraid no such thing can be justly said  
 ‘ for many years to come, and therefore even that  
 ‘ motive, which the honourable gentlemen, who  
 ‘ have spoke upon the other side of the question,  
 ‘ have said to be the only motive for enacting this  
 ‘ law, has not yet entirely ceased : But, Sir, this  
 ‘ was not the sole and only motive for enacting  
 ‘ that law ; if gentlemen had given attention to the  
 ‘ preamble of that law, they would have found ma-  
 ‘ ny other reasons mentioned for enacting it, which  
 ‘ are now as strong for continuing it as they were  
 ‘ then for enacting it.

‘ It has been said, Sir, that this law has been at-  
 ‘ tended with several inconveniencies, which I cannot  
 ‘ say

' say I was ever sensible of; and I think they have  
 ' not yet been made sufficiently appear by any of  
 ' the gentlemen who have spoke in this debate; but  
 ' granting that there were any such, is this a time to  
 ' repeal a law which has been productive of so much  
 ' good, and which so much strengthens his Majesty's  
 ' government, only because it has been found to be  
 ' attended with a few trifling inconveniences? I can-  
 ' not think that the gentlemen who talk at this rate  
 ' are so ignorant of human affairs, as they now pre-  
 ' tend to be; they must certainly know, that all  
 ' human institutions are attended with inconveni-  
 ' ces, and all that the wisest of men can do, is to  
 ' chuse those regulations which are attended with the  
 ' fewest and the least dangerous inconveniences, and  
 ' which tend most to the security and the happiness  
 ' of their native country: When gentlemen consider  
 ' in this light the *septennial law* which now exists,  
 ' and the *triennial law*, which was for good reasons  
 ' repealed, they will, I believe, at all times, but  
 ' especially at the present, give the preference to the  
 ' former.

' Let us, Sir, but consider the present situation  
 ' of the affairs of *Europe*: *Italy* swallowed up by  
 ' *France* and her allies; numerous armies on the  
 ' *Rhine*, threatening to penetrate into the very bow-  
 ' els of the empire; our old allies, the *Dutch*, re-  
 ' duced to the low ebb of begging a neutrality from  
 ' *France*, for their barrier in *Flanders*: In such a  
 ' state of foreign affairs, is it to be imagined, that  
 ' *Great Britain* can remain quiet, or indulge herself  
 ' in a state of ease and security! No surely, Sir, we  
 ' must concert proper measures to prevent the ba-  
 ' lance of power in *Europe* from being quite over-  
 ' turned: We must look in time to the preservation  
 ' of that balance, which has already cost this nation  
 ' so much blood and treasure; and, at such a con-  
 ' juncture, ought we to repeal that law which strength-  
 ' ens his Majesty's hands, which gives steadiness

‘ to his councils, and adds weight to his negoti-  
 ‘ ons with foreign powers? Or shall we substitute in  
 ‘ its place a law, which would throw the nation,  
 ‘ every two or three years, into such distractions  
 ‘ and confusions as elections are always attended  
 ‘ with?

‘ Would not this, Sir, be giving the enemies of  
 ‘ his Majesty’s government at home, in conjunction  
 ‘ with his enemies abroad, so many opportunities of  
 ‘ distressing his Majesty’s government, of throwing  
 ‘ all things into confusion, and perhaps of destroy-  
 ‘ ing that establishment, and that family to which  
 ‘ we owe the preservation of all that is dear to us?  
 ‘ God forbid, Sir, that this house should be so much  
 ‘ wanting in that duty they owe to his Majesty, in  
 ‘ that duty they owe to their country, as to do any  
 ‘ thing that might tend to the distressing of his go-  
 ‘ vernment, or to the disturbing the peace and quiet  
 ‘ of their country. I hope the house will excuse me  
 ‘ for taking up so much of their time: I could say a  
 ‘ great deal more against the motion now before us,  
 ‘ but the subject has been so much exhausted, and  
 ‘ every argument in favour of it so fully answered by  
 ‘ my worthy friend under the gallery, who spoke  
 ‘ early in this debate, that I think I need not now  
 ‘ add any thing farther, but shall most heartily give  
 ‘ my vote against it.’

*Watkin Williams Wynn, Esq;* ‘ I am surpris’d, *Mr. Wil-*  
 ‘ Sir, to hear it insinuated, by the hon. gentleman *liams*  
 ‘ who spoke last, as if the motion now before us *Wynn’s*  
 ‘ was made with a view to distress his Majesty’s go- *speech.*  
 ‘ vernment, or to disturb the peace of the nation.  
 ‘ Such an insinuation is really not treating the gen-  
 ‘ tlemen, who have spoke in favour of this motion,  
 ‘ with that candour which one gentleman has reason  
 ‘ to expect from another in this house; nor indeed  
 ‘ can I look upon it as any compliment made to his  
 ‘ Majesty, or his government: It is not to be doubt-

‘ ed



' ed but that his Majesty, in all the measures he pur-  
 ' sues, looks a little farther than this house ; it is not  
 ' to be questioned but that his Majesty looks for the  
 ' approbation of the generality of his people, as well  
 ' as the majority of his Parliament ; and while his  
 ' measures are approved of by the generality of his  
 ' people, frequent elections cannot surely bring any  
 ' distress upon his government, but will greatly  
 ' strengthen it, by shewing frequently to his Majesty,  
 ' and to the whole world, the true sense of the gene-  
 ' rality of the people. As to the peace of the na-  
 ' tion, we know, by experience, that it was as well  
 ' preserved by *triennial Parliaments*, as ever it was  
 ' by *septennial*, so that the agreeing to this motion  
 ' cannot disturb the peace, but the rejecting it may  
 ' very probably have such an effect ; for the gene-  
 ' rality of the people so earnestly desire to have *tri-*  
 ' *ennial Parliaments* restored to them, that the refus-  
 ' ing to comply with their desire cannot but increase  
 ' the number of the dissatisfied, which may, at last,  
 ' throw all things into confusion, and may perhaps  
 ' destroy that establishment, to which we owe every  
 ' thing that is dear to us.

' I shall readily grant, Sir, that ever since we have  
 ' had *septennial Parliaments*, our elections have been  
 ' generally attended with distractions and confusions ;  
 ' but I cannot allow that this would be the case, if  
 ' our elections were *annual*, or even *triennial* : They  
 ' would then be carried on with much less heat and  
 ' animosity ; for every man knows, that the distur-  
 ' bances about elections have been much greater,  
 ' since the *septennial bill* took place, than ever they  
 ' were before ; and I would gladly ask gentlemen, if  
 ' before that time it was ever known, that the soli-  
 ' citations and contentions about elections began two  
 ' years before the chusing of a new Parliament, which  
 ' is known to be the case at present over the whole  
 ' kingdom, and which always must necessarily be  
 ' the case, it being natural for men to contend with

' more

‘ more vigour and with more heat, for a post either  
‘ of honour or profit, that is to be enjoyed for seven  
‘ years, than for one that is to be enjoyed but for  
‘ one, or for three.

‘ Then, Sir, as to bribery and corruption at  
‘ elections, I am sure it has very much increased since  
‘ the *septennial law* took place. It is a natural con-  
‘ sequence of lengthening the time of a Parliament’s  
‘ continuance; a consequence so natural, that I am  
‘ surprised to find it so much mistaken as it seems to  
‘ be, by some gentlemen who have spoken upon the  
‘ other side of the question. It is certain, Sir, that  
‘ bribery will never be made use of at any election,  
‘ but by a man who has not a sufficient natural inte-  
‘ rest in the place where he declares himself a can-  
‘ didate; and by such we may expect it will always  
‘ be made use of, as far as it can be done with safety,  
‘ if the candidate has but the least hopes of succeed-  
‘ ing by such dishonourable means; where there  
‘ happens a competition, every elector has a natural  
‘ bias to vote for one man rather than another, and  
‘ every elector will vote according to his natural  
‘ bias, if he is not bought off: Whoever endea-  
‘ vours to buy him off, must certainly come up to his  
‘ price, and this price will be higher or lower, ac-  
‘ cording to the elector’s honour and circumstances,  
‘ and the natural bias he has for the other candi-  
‘ date: A great many men may be perhaps bought  
‘ off with 100 or 1000 guineas, who, if half that  
‘ sum were offered, would spurn it away with an  
‘ honest disdain. I hope, Sir, there are a great  
‘ many electors in this kingdom, whose honour,  
‘ upon such occasions, is above the power of any  
‘ such corrupt temptations, but that there are like-  
‘ wise a great many who may be bought, is a fact,  
‘ which, I believe, no gentleman in this house will  
‘ dispute; and in this view let us examine the diffe-  
‘ rence between *triennial* and *septennial* Parliaments.

‘ Give

' Give me leave then to suppose two gentlemen  
 ' set up in opposition to each other, for representing  
 ' one of our little boroughs in Parliament; one of  
 ' them a country gentleman, of a great natural in-  
 ' terest in the place, the other a citizen of *London*,  
 ' or a place-man, not near equal to him in interest,  
 ' but depending intirely upon the money he is able  
 ' to lay out: Suppose the citizen, or place-man,  
 ' comes to a calculation, and finds that it will cost  
 ' him at least 3000 *l.* to buy the country gentleman  
 ' out of his interest in that borough; if the Parlia-  
 ' ment were to continue but for three years, he  
 ' would, very probably, resolve not to be at such  
 ' an expence, and so would refrain from being guil-  
 ' ty of the crime of corrupting his countrymen; but  
 ' when the Parliament is to continue for seven years,  
 ' he may as probably resolve to be at that charge:  
 ' Thus by corruption he may get a seat in this  
 ' house, and it is to be feared, that he who comes  
 ' in here by corruption, will not walk out with clean  
 ' hands.

' Gentlemen are very much mistaken if they ima-  
 ' gine, that the price of an elector depends upon  
 ' the duration of a Parliament, or that a man who  
 ' sells his vote for 100 guineas at an election of a  
 ' septennial Parliament, would sell his vote for the  
 ' half of that sum, if the Parliament to be chosen  
 ' were to continue only for three years. No, Sir,  
 ' there are very few of this sort of electors, who think  
 ' of futurity; the present offer is the temptation,  
 ' and the only temptation which can be of any  
 ' weight with them: Besides, they cannot depend  
 ' upon having the like offer made them at the next  
 ' election; and 50 guineas ready money, with an  
 ' uncertain hope of having 50 more three years  
 ' hence, is not surely so great a price as 100 guineas  
 ' ready down: The natural interest of the country  
 ' gentlemen, and the honour of the electors, are  
 ' what the dealers in corruption have to contend  
 ' with,

‘ with and against these a small price cannot be so  
‘ prevalent as one a little higher ; some may, per-  
‘ haps, be corrupted by a small price, but certainly  
‘ the higher it is the greater will the numbers be that  
‘ are tempted to yield to it ; and as a man may  
‘ give a higher price at the election for a septennial  
‘ Parliament, than he can do at one for an annual or  
‘ triennial, therefore the greater the numbers will be  
‘ of those who yield to his temptation, the more he  
‘ may depend upon corruption ; and the more it is  
‘ to be depended on, the more general and the more  
‘ frequent will it certainly be. From hence it ap-  
‘ pears evident, that the increase of bribery and cor-  
‘ ruption is as natural a consequence of septennial  
‘ Parliaments, as any one thing can be conceived to  
‘ be the consequence of another.

‘ There is no way, Sir, of effectually preventing  
‘ of corruption, but by putting it out of the power  
‘ of any man to corrupt : There is no corrupting any  
‘ man but by coming up to his price ; therefore  
‘ the only way of putting it out of the power of any  
‘ man to corrupt, is to put it out of the power of  
‘ any man to come up to the price of any number  
‘ of electors ; and this can only be done by making  
‘ our elections frequent : The more frequent the bet-  
‘ ter. It is certain, a gentleman who enjoys a good  
‘ pension for seven years, is more able to give a  
‘ high price than if he had enjoyed that pension but  
‘ for one year, or even for three ; and he will more  
‘ willingly give a high price, when he is thereby to  
‘ purchase the continuance of that pension for seven  
‘ years, than when he is to purchase it only for one  
‘ or for three years. This, Sir, is so evident, that  
‘ I am astonished to hear it controverted within these  
‘ walls.

‘ If our Parliaments were annual, it would be im-  
‘ possible for place-men or pensioners to save as much  
‘ yearly as would be sufficient to bribe country gen-  
‘ tlemen out of their interest, and the electors out of  
‘ their



' their honesty ; which I am afraid is a practice now  
 ' too frequent in many parts of this kingdom : How  
 ' can it otherwise be imagined that the people would  
 ' choose persons they never saw, persons they per-  
 ' haps never heard of, in opposition to gentlemen  
 ' who live in the neighbourhood, gentlemen who  
 ' give them daily employment, by buying in their  
 ' their shops and markets all the manufactures and  
 ' provisions they have use for in their families, and  
 ' gentlemen whose ancestors have, perhaps, often  
 ' represented that very place in Parliament, with  
 ' great honour and universal approbation ? I remem-  
 ' ber, Sir, I was told by a gentleman who is now  
 ' dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean  
 ' Mr. *Spencer Cooper*, afterwards one of the judges of  
 ' the Common Pleas, he told me himself that he  
 ' had never been in the borough he represented in  
 ' Parliament, nor had ever seen or spoke with any  
 ' of his electors ; and I believe I could, without much  
 ' difficulty, name some who are now in the same  
 ' situation. Can such, Sir, be called the represen-  
 ' tatives of the people, or can it be supposed that they  
 ' are chosen by means of that natural interest by  
 ' whichever man ought to hold his seat in this house ?

' The Parliament, Sir, is the great council of the  
 ' nation, and the business of this house in particular  
 ' is, to represent to his Majesty the grievances of the  
 ' people ; to inform his Majesty if any of his mini-  
 ' sters or officers makes an ill use of the power he  
 ' delegates to them, and to impeach and prosecute  
 ' such evil ministers. Now I would be glad to  
 ' know who are the most proper representatives for  
 ' these purposes, gentlemen who have large proper-  
 ' ties in the country, who are independent of the  
 ' ministers and officers of the crown, and who by  
 ' living in the country are perfectly acquainted with  
 ' the circumstances of the people ; or gentlemen  
 ' who for their chief support depend upon the mini-  
 ' sters and officers of the crown, who know nothing



of those they represent, and are not only ignorant of their true interests, but are really indifferent about their welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the first sort of gentlemen are the most proper representatives of the people; and if so, annual or triennial Parliaments are better than septennial, because there is a greater probability of their being chiefly composed of such gentlemen.

As bribery and corruption, therefore, is a natural consequence of long Parliaments, as it must always increase in proportion as the term for the Parliament's continuance is prolonged, I am persuaded that all those who are against bribery and corruption will join with me in voting for the re-stitution of triennial Parliaments. It is not the expence of an election that country gentlemen are to be afraid of; the most extravagant entertainments that a stranger in the country could give, would have but little weight, if to these he did not add downright bribery; and even those bribes must be so high as to over-balance the natural interest of the country gentlemen, as well as the honesty of the greatest part of the electors: As these bribes cannot be made so high for a triennial Parliament, as they may be for a septennial, they cannot be so prevalent among the electors; and therefore a gentleman, who depends upon nothing but his natural interest, will always have a better lay for representing his country in a triennial Parliament, than he can have for representing it in one which is to continue for seven years; for which reason I cannot but think, that for every gentleman who has a mind that his posterity shall depend for their seats in Parliament, upon the natural interest they may have in their respective countries, and not upon the frowns or the favours of the minister for the time being, must necessarily be for our returning

' to our former constitution in this respect. This,  
 ' Sir, is, in my opinion, absolutely necessary, and  
 ' it must be soon done, otherwise country gentle-  
 ' men, tired out with contending against those who  
 ' purchase their elections, perhaps with the very  
 ' money which the country gentlemen are obliged  
 ' to pay out of their estates in public duties and taxes,  
 ' will at last have nothing to do but to sit down and  
 ' bemoan the fate of their country; but their com-  
 ' plaints will then be to very little purpose, for the  
 ' doors of that place, where the groans of the people  
 ' ought to be heard, will then be shut against them;  
 ' we may depend on it that those, who obtain  
 ' their seats in this house by ministerial influence,  
 ' will, while here, be directed in all their pro-  
 ' ceedings by the same sort of influence, and by none  
 ' other.

' To conclude; Sir, I am very certain that there  
 ' is nothing would be more agreeable to the peo-  
 ' ple in general than the repeal of the septen-  
 ' nian law, and therefore I, as one of the repre-  
 ' sentatives of the people chosen without bribery  
 ' or corruption, and as one who has nothing to  
 ' consider but the interest of those I represent,  
 ' shall most readily give my vote in favour of the  
 ' motion.'

Mr. At-  
 torney  
 General's  
 speech.

*John Willes, Esq;* ' I have given all possible  
 ' attention to what has been said by gentlemen on  
 ' both sides of this question; and I must confess,  
 ' Sir, I cannot yet see any manner of reason for a-  
 ' greeing to the motion. Gentlemen have been  
 ' pleased to put us in mind of our ancient constitu-  
 ' tion; but it has been so often varied and altered,  
 ' that it will be found very difficult to fix upon a  
 ' time when it was such as we ought or would de-  
 ' sire to return to: And if any time is to be fixed  
 ' on, we are not surely to take the time when  
 ' our

' our constitution was weak and in its infancy, we  
 ' are certainly to choose that time, when it was come  
 ' to its full strength and vigour, which, in my opi-  
 ' nion, is the present ; but as gentlemen have men-  
 ' tioned the claim of rights, let us examine how it  
 ' stood at that time ; for I am persuaded, it will be  
 ' agreed to by every gentleman in this house, that af-  
 ' ter that claim was settled and confirmed, our con-  
 ' stitution was more vigorous than it ever was before  
 ' that time ; and yet even in our claim of rights,  
 ' there is no mention made of frequent new Parlia-  
 ' ments : It is indeed said, that for redress of grie-  
 ' vances, and for amending, strengthening and pre-  
 ' serving the laws, Parliaments ought to be held fre-  
 ' quently ; but it is not so much as insinuated, that  
 ' every one of these Parliaments ought to be a new  
 ' Parliament ; and as to the frequency of Parliaments,  
 ' I am sure there never was less reason for complaint,  
 ' than since the septennial bill passed ; for ever since  
 ' that time, the sessions have been regularly held, and  
 ' all of them have been allowed to sit as long as it  
 ' was necessary or proper they should.

' But, Sir, even by the claim of rights, our con-  
 ' stitution was not so well regulated or established as  
 ' it is at present : It was still left in the power of  
 ' the King to continue a Parliament as long as he  
 ' pleased, and this certainly might have become a  
 ' grievance upon the people. This oversight the  
 ' whole nation were sensible of, and this they were  
 ' willing to obviate ; but in all such cases, people  
 ' generally run from one extreme to another : the  
 ' passions of men are something like a pendulum,  
 ' if they are raised too high on one side, they always  
 ' rise too high on the other ; it requires time before  
 ' they come to settle in the equilibrium of reason.  
 ' This was the very case with respect to the triennial  
 ' bill, which was passed in the reign of King *Wil-*  
 ' *liam* : The passions of the people were raised high  
 ' against the unlimited prerogative of the crown, in

continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a mind; this the enemies of the government took hold of, in order to introduce a law, by which the prerogative was in this respect limited too much; for it is well known, that the triennial act was neither introduced or promoted by the patrons of liberty, or the real friends to that King's government; it was by those who meant to distress the measures of that good Prince, to whom their native country, nay even they themselves, stood so much indebted: They at last prevailed, they got that law passed, which after a long experience was found to be of dangerous consequence to the peace of the nation, and to the quiet of the subject; and therefore the septennial bill was agreed to, which is a most reasonable mean between the one extreme of leaving the prerogative of the crown in this respect unlimited, and the other extreme of limiting this prerogative too much, by laying the crown under a necessity of calling a new Parliament once in three years, whether it be consistent with the peace and security of the nation or not: From whence, Sir, I think I have good reason to be of opinion, that our constitution is now in its utmost perfection. I was indeed glad to hear encomiums bestowed by an honourable gentleman, upon the late King *William*, because such seldom come from the corner of the house where he sits; but if that glorious King had been limited to septennial Parliaments only, and not to triennial, the future happiness of this nation would have been better secured, and more firmly established by him; he would not have been obliged to have put an end to the war so soon as he did, or to have agreed to those treaties, which were afterwards so loudly complained of; the continuance of the war but for a very few years, might have reduced the power of *France* so low, as to have rendered them utterly unable to have made a conquest of *Spain*, and thereby

the

‘ the heavy war which ensued, and which cost this  
‘ nation so much blood and treasure, would have  
‘ been effectually prevented.

‘ Gentlemen have been pleased, Sir, to mention  
‘ frequently to us the prerogative of the crown, and  
‘ to talk of its being grown up to a great height ;  
‘ but can any gentleman say, that his present Ma-  
‘ jesty, or the late King his father, ever made the  
‘ least attempt to the prejudice of the people’s rights,  
‘ or ever endeavoured to extend any branch of the  
‘ prerogative, beyond those bounds which are pre-  
‘ scribed to it by law ; and I hope no gentleman will  
‘ say, that the prerogative, as now limited and esta-  
‘ blished, can be dangerous ; for while our happy con-  
‘ stitution is preserved, it is certain the monarchial  
‘ part of it must be endowed with some powers  
‘ and prerogatives ; it must have at least those,  
‘ which are necessary to support itself against faction,  
‘ and to preserve that influence, which it ought by  
‘ law to have in the government of this kingdom.  
‘ And as for the influence which, as has been supposed,  
‘ the crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it  
‘ has already had a very proper answer, from both  
‘ the gentlemen who spoke first against this motion ;  
‘ for it was very certain, that the long Parliament in  
‘ King *Charles* the Second’s reign, which has been  
‘ called the pensionary Parliament, became towards  
‘ the end, so very little subject to the influence of  
‘ the crown, that they did all they could, to secure  
‘ the liberties of the people, against the schemes  
‘ which were then forming by the court, and became  
‘ so strenuous in their endeavours this way, that the  
‘ King was at last obliged to dissolve them : This  
‘ shews, that the length of a Parliament rather di-  
‘ minishes than increases the influence of the crown ;  
‘ and the history of every parliament since that time  
‘ confirms this observation.



' We have been told, that we always ought to  
 ' have a dependence on those we represent, and that  
 ' in long Parliaments, this dependence may probably  
 ' be thrown off; which could never be the case, if  
 ' Parliaments were annual. That we have all a de-  
 ' pendence upon the people for our election, is what,  
 ' Sir, I shall readily grant; but after we are chosen,  
 ' and have taken our seats in this house, we have no  
 ' longer any dependence upon our electors, at least,  
 ' in so far as regards our behaviour here: Their  
 ' whole power is then devolved upon us, and we are  
 ' in every question that comes before this house, to  
 ' regard only the public good in general, and to de-  
 ' termine according to our own judgments: If we  
 ' do not, if we are to depend upon our representa-  
 ' tives, and to follow blindly the instructions they  
 ' send us, we cannot be said to act freely, nor can  
 ' such Parliaments be called free Parliaments: Such  
 ' a dependence would be a most dangerous depen-  
 ' dence: It would, in my opinion, be more dange-  
 ' rous, and of worse consequence, than a dependence  
 ' upon the crown; for in a dependence on the crown,  
 ' I can see no danger, as long as the interest of the  
 ' crown, is made the same with that of the people,  
 ' which every man must allow to be the case at pre-  
 ' sent; whereas the people of any county, city, or  
 ' borough, are very liable to be misled, and may  
 ' often be induced to give instructions directly con-  
 ' trary to the interest of their country.

' Bribery and corruption, Sir, are two hideous  
 ' words, and are often set in the most terrible light.  
 ' I have, it is true, as terrible an idea of such prac-  
 ' tices as any gentleman in this house; but I cannot  
 ' think we are in any present danger from such: Our  
 ' constitution is so happily formed, that it is almost  
 ' impossible to overthrow it by such practices; for  
 ' before such a thing can be done, the generality of  
 ' the people must be corrupted; nay they must be  
 ' so far corrupted, as to be ready to sell themselves

for

' for a small price ; for if they insist upon a high  
 ' one, there cannot be a purchaser : This is a case,  
 ' which I hope never will happen, but if ever it  
 ' should, I cannot see how our constitution could be  
 ' more safe with a triennial than with a septennial  
 ' Parliament ; for I am persuaded, that if a man will  
 ' sell his vote either in Parliament, or at elections,  
 ' for 1000 or 100 guineas, he will sell it for half  
 ' that sum, when he finds he can get no more :  
 ' Whatever is once brought to market, is generally  
 ' sold for the market price ; and we find that the  
 ' more frequently a thing is sold, the lower it falls in  
 ' its price, the more contemptible it becomes. People  
 ' usually suppose that corruption is only of one  
 ' sort ; but this, Sir, is a mistake, it appears in many  
 ' shapes ; a man may be bribed without giving him  
 ' money ; and even members of this house may be  
 ' bribed without getting any place or preferment  
 ' from the government : If any gentleman, to please  
 ' his borough, and to secure his next election, should  
 ' act contrary to his own judgment, it is as down-  
 ' right bribery, as if he had got a pension, a place,  
 ' or preferment from the court ; and I look upon  
 ' this as one of the very worst sorts of corruption.

' Gentlemen have told us, that septennial Parlia-  
 ' ments are attended with many inconveniences, but  
 ' they have not been so good, as to shew us any of  
 ' them, at least, in so far as I have yet heard ; we  
 ' have had the experience of such Parliaments for  
 ' above these eighteen years, and yet I do not find,  
 ' that they have pretended to shew any one incon-  
 ' venience which has arisen from them in all that  
 ' time ; from whence I must presume, that it is not  
 ' in their power ; and I believe it cannot be shewn,  
 ' that so many good laws have passed in any such  
 ' number of years, as have been passed since septen-  
 ' nial Parliaments took place : I am sure it cannot be  
 ' shewn, that any one law has been passed by any  
 ' of our septennial Parliaments, that incroached upon

‘ the rights of the people, or that was attended with  
‘ an inconvenience, or was looked on by the gene-  
‘ rality of the people as a grievance. If ever there  
‘ were any such, I must desire that the gentlemen of  
‘ the other side of the question would point them  
‘ out to us.

‘ But, Sir, I could shew many inconveniences that  
‘ would certainly ensue from triennial or annual Par-  
‘ liaments: The whole nation would be kept in a  
‘ continual ferment: The feuds and divisions which  
‘ by every election are raised among neighbours in  
‘ the country, would be continually kept up: The  
‘ country gentlemen would be intirely ruined by the  
‘ expence of frequent elections, and an annual at-  
‘ tendance upon this house with multitudes of wit-  
‘ nesses, about those that might be contested; and a  
‘ vast encouragement would be given to drunkenness  
‘ and idleness among all ranks of men: We know,  
‘ when working people have been habituated but for  
‘ a few days to drunkenness and idleness, how hard  
‘ it is to bring them back to their labour and industry;  
‘ from whence we must conclude, that such frequent  
‘ elections would be a great prejudice to our husban-  
‘ dry, to our manufactures, and to all sorts of im-  
‘ provements; for the drinking and feasting about  
‘ one election, would hardly be over when that for  
‘ the next would begin: All these, and many worse,  
‘ would be the certain consequences of triennial or  
‘ annual elections; whereas, when elections return  
‘ but once in seven years, the feuds and divisions  
‘ among neighbours, and the ferment the nation is  
‘ put into, have time to subside; the labouring peo-  
‘ ple have time to cool and return to their labour;  
‘ and the country gentlemen may easily bear the ex-  
‘ pence of elections, because they have six years to  
‘ recruit, and to lay in a stock for that purpose.

‘ An honourable gentleman spoke of septennial  
‘ Parliaments as necessary to support falling mini-  
‘ sters: How a septennial can be more proper for this  
‘ purpose

‘ purpose than a triennial, I cannot really comprehend ; but whatever may be in this, I am sure it is not the case at present ; for I have been of late in as many counties and corporations as any gentleman, I believe, in this house ; and notwithstanding all the arts that have been practised, and all the industry that has been used to give the people a bad impression of the present administration, I found the people in every place I passed through, generally well inclined towards it ; and the present Parliament, tho’ a septennial one, stands so firmly in the esteem and affections of the people, that I dare say, we shall see the greatest part of the gentlemen now in this house re-chosen.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, as no gentleman can, I think, shew me any inconvenience attending septennial Parliaments, but what is imaginary, as a great many dangerous inconveniences always have attended, and always must attend triennial Parliaments ; and as I am convinced that the nation in general, is very far from desiring a repeal of the septennial law, I am intirely against the question.

‘ *Walter Plummer, Esq;* ‘ I own, Sir, I am not *Mr. Plummer’s* a little astonished at the doctrine laid down by the *mer’s* honourable and learned gentleman who spoke last : *speech.*  
 ‘ That after we are chosen, we are to give no attention to our constituents, that we are then to throw aside all dependence upon them, is a doctrine I never before heard in this house ; and I am the more surpris’d to hear it come from that learned gentleman, because some of our principal law books tell us, that in ancient times, this house has often refused to agree to propositions made by the court, for this reason only, that they could not agree to any such new proposition, till they went home and consulted with their constituents. For my own part, Sir, I shall always give the greatest attention to the sentiments of those I represent ; I shall al-

‘ ways



ways have a great regard for their interests, and shall never think there is any danger in having a dependence upon them.

The learned gentleman asked us, if the prerogative of the crown had been extended beyond its due bounds by his late or his present Majesty? Sir, I do not say it has: It is a question cannot properly be answered, nor have I heard any such thing so much as insinuated in this debate: But I wish we would take an example from the crown in one thing: We may observe that the crown never gives a place or employment for life, or for a long term of years, except such as cannot be otherwise disposed of; and the reason is plain: Were these places given for life, the grantee would then be out of the power of the crown, and consequently, would not have such a dependence on the crown, as those persons must have, who enjoy their places during pleasure only: In this the crown acts wisely; and I wish we would follow the example: When I say we, I speak of the gentlemen present, not as members of this house, but as a part of the people of *Great Britain*: It would certainly be the height of wisdom in the people, to keep those they trust and employ in their service, as much in their power as possible: If those the people chose to represent them in this house, where to continue in that station only during the pleasure of the people, the representatives would, I believe, have a proper regard for the interests of the people, and would never think of throwing off all dependence upon them. As this would, in my opinion, be a wise step in the people, therefore I must be for agreeing to every thing that may tend this way; for this reason, I cannot but be for the present motion; nay, if *annual Parliaments* had been moved for, I should have been for the question.

Another



‘ Another gentleman over the way, mentioned to us the present situation of *Europe* ; and asked us, if we were to sit still, and take no part ? This, Sir, is a question that might be answered, if they would let us into the secret so far, as to know what is the present situation of *Europe*, with respect to ourselves ; but this they do not seem inclined to do : However, without such an insight, I think I may say, that we ought to mind our own business, and take proper care of the interests of *Great-Britain* ; but that we are not to enter headlong into every *German* quarrel that happens beyond seas. This may be a very proper question, and probably will come to be a question in the first session of the next Parliament : In which case, I hope those who have it in their power, will lay every thing before this house, that may be necessary for giving a proper answer to such an important question ; but how the members of next Parliament, by being chosen for seven years, should have in the very first session, more knowledge, more wisdom, or more integrity, in the determining of this question, than if they had been chosen only for three, is what, I must confess, I cannot comprehend.

‘ The learned gentleman was so good as to tell us, that we had all, or most of us, by our behaviour in this Parliament, established our characters so firmly among the people, that most of us will be chosen again ; if so, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then as many of us as are alive, may expect to be chosen a third time ; and if we behave ill, I hope no gentleman will say we ought to continue even for one year, much less for seven, in the station we are in, whether our representatives will or no. This, Sir, is as proper an answer, as can be made to the principal argument urged against frequent elections ; which was, that they would distress his Majesty’s government, and render the measures of his administration unsteady

‘ steady ; for if the same members be upon a new  
 ‘ election generally returned, as long as they behave  
 ‘ well, surely even an *annual election* could never  
 ‘ distress his Majesty’s government, nor render his  
 ‘ ministers unsteady in the measures they pursue, at  
 ‘ least as long as the members behave well in Par-  
 ‘ liament ; and I hope no King will, I am sure his  
 ‘ Majesty never will, and I hope no minister ever  
 ‘ can depend upon the ill behaviour of the members  
 ‘ of Parliament, for the support of his government,  
 ‘ or for the support of the measures he pursues : I  
 ‘ say, I hope this case never will happen ; but lest  
 ‘ it should, the best way to guard against it, is, to  
 ‘ have frequent elections ; and therefore I am for the  
 ‘ question.’

Sir Wil-  
 liam Low-  
 ther’s  
 speech.

Sir William Lowther. ‘ There is one reason, Sir,  
 ‘ which chiefly prevails with me to be against your  
 ‘ question : It has been said, that the principal mo-  
 ‘ tive for introducing *septennial Parliaments* now no  
 ‘ longer exists ; but this I can by no means agree  
 ‘ with, because I am sure the number of *Papists* has  
 ‘ greatly increased even since the *septennial law* took  
 ‘ place : And as a true regard for our own religion,  
 ‘ has in the same time very much decreased, I am  
 ‘ afraid the *Popish* interest will daily gain more and  
 ‘ more upon us ; and the transition from *Popery* to  
 ‘ *Jacobitism* we know to be short and certain.

‘ Besides, Sir, there has lately been published in  
 ‘ our weekly papers an essay upon parties ; who is  
 ‘ the author of it I do not know, but I have read it,  
 ‘ and I think it the most jesuitical performance I ever  
 ‘ saw : It could, in my opinion, be wrote with no  
 ‘ other view but to raise discontents and jealousies,  
 ‘ and to increase the disaffection to his Majesty’s go-  
 ‘ vernment ; and therefore I cannot be for repealing  
 ‘ a law which greatly strengthens that government  
 ‘ against all such attempts.’

Charles

*Charles Cholmondeley, Esq;* ‘ I do not stand up, Mr. *Cholmondeley*’s  
 ‘ Sir, to enter into your debate, but only to take notice of what was said by the gentleman who spoke last. I do not know whether the number of *Papists* be increased since the time he mentions, or not; but I would gladly know from him, which side in the elections the *Papists* favour most in that part of the country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the parts of *England* which I know, they generally make use of all their interest in favour of those candidates who are recommended by the ministers: What may be their reason for such an odd sort of conduct I cannot pretend to determine; for surely they do not imagine that the only game they have to play against his Majesty’s government, is to support his ministers.’

‘ *George Heathcote, Esq;* ‘ I was very much inclined, Sir, to give my vote for the question when it was first moved; but I am now more firmly of that opinion, after what I have heard from the two hon. gentlemen who spoke last; for if *Popery* has gained so great ground in this nation, since the passing of the *septennial law*; and if the *Papists* be in general such friends to our ministers, I do not know but that in next Parliament many *Papists* may have seats in this house; and as some of our ministers have been of late very changeable in their politics, I do not know but they may take it in their heads to change their religion too; therefore, for fear of our having a *Popish* Parliament, and some *Popish* ministers, I am for repealing the *septennial law*, in order to prevent their having time to do a great deal of mischief.’

*Sir John Hynde Cotton.* ‘ Sir, as to all the parts of *England* I know, I can affirm the truth of what my worthy friend by me has said. The *Papists* are, in general, making use of all their interest in  
 ‘ favour

' favour of those candidates who are recommended  
 ' by the ministers ; and an hon. gentleman on the  
 ' floor, who I believe has no small share in the pre-  
 ' sent administration, knows that one of that reli-  
 ' gion, who is a gentleman of one of the best and  
 ' most ancient families in the county of *Norfolk*, and  
 ' a gentleman of one of the best estates in it, is now  
 ' riding about the country, soliciting votes for his  
 ' friends who are candidates for the county ; or for  
 ' any city or borough within the county ; so that if  
 ' there has been of late an increase of *Popery*, it can-  
 ' not be said that the interest of the ministers is there-  
 ' by weakened ; but as to his Majesty's government,  
 ' I dare say that it cannot be much strengthened by  
 ' the addition of such friends.

' An hon. and learned gentleman over the way,  
 ' was pleased to ask us, Sir, if his late or present  
 ' Majesty had ever made any attempt to the preju-  
 ' dice of the rights of the people, or had endeavour-  
 ' ed to extend any branch of the prerogative beyond  
 ' its legal bounds ? To this question, Sir, I shall not  
 ' answer one word, because I know the gentleman's  
 ' office ; but I shall answer another question asked  
 ' by the same gentleman : He asked us, if I remem-  
 ' ber right, whether any law was ever passed by a  
 ' *septennial Parliament*, that incroached upon the li-  
 ' berties of the people, or that was attended with an  
 ' inconvenience, or was looked on by the generality  
 ' of the people as a grievance ? As to the first part  
 ' of this question, I must really, Sir, look upon the  
 ' *septennial law* itself, as some sort of incroachment  
 ' upon the rights of the people ; and that law, I  
 ' think, was passed by a Parliament which made it-  
 ' self *septennial* : But farther, Sir, were not the laws  
 ' of treason, as to trials, altered by a *septennial Par-*  
 ' *liament*, or at least one which made itself so ? That  
 ' law which had remained unaltered in all the con-  
 ' tests, and the long wars that happened between the  
 ' houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was altered upon a



trifling insurrection in some of the northern parts of this kingdom : Formerly every man was to be tried by a jury of his honest neighbours, within the county where the crimes alledged against him were said to have been committed ; but a *septennial Parliament* ordered him to be carried away and tried in any county where the crown, or rather the minister, could find a jury proper for their purpose ; and where the prisoner might not perhaps be able to bring any witnesses in his own justification, it might at least have been impossible for him to bring any without a great expence. And yet farther, Sir, was not the riot act passed by a *septennial Parliament* ; and is this no incroachment upon the rights of the people ? Is it no grievance, that a little dirty justice of the peace, the meanest and vilest tool a minister can make use of, a tool who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the commission, and who may be turned out of that subsistence whenever the minister pleases ? Is this, I say, no grievance, that such a tool should have it in his power, by reading a proclamation, to put perhaps twenty or thirty of the best subjects in *England* to immediate death, without any trial or form of law ? This law, Sir, and several others I could name, have been passed by *septennial Parliaments* ; to which, because they stand yet un repealed, I shall not give the names I think they deserve.

But, Sir, to ask whether any laws have been passed by *septennial Parliaments*, which have been attended with inconveniences, or have been complained of as a grievance, is a question I am surprised to hear come from a gentleman learned in the laws. Was not the fatal *South-Sea* scheme, in the year 1720, established by an act of a *septennial Parliament*, and can any man ask, whether that law was attended with any inconvenience ? It was, Sir, the most scandalous act that ever was passed  
by



‘ by any Parliament ; if *triennial Parliaments* had  
 ‘ then been in being, I am persuaded it would never  
 ‘ have passed, or if it had, I am very sure the chief  
 ‘ promoters of it would have suffered a very differ-  
 ‘ ent fate from what they did ; and did not the  
 ‘ same Parliament pass some clauses in an act for hin-  
 ‘ dering the spreading of the plague, that were look-  
 ‘ ed upon by the generality of the people as so great a  
 ‘ grievance, and were so loudly complained of by  
 ‘ all ranks of people in the nation, that it was thought  
 ‘ proper to repeal them in the very next session of  
 ‘ Parliament ?

‘ To the glorious catalogue I have mentioned, of  
 ‘ laws passed by *septennial Parliaments*, we might  
 ‘ have added the late excise bill, if it had passed into  
 ‘ a law, but, thank God, the *septennial Parliament*  
 ‘ was near expiring before that famous bill was in-  
 ‘ troduced. To this glorious catalogue I could add,  
 ‘ Sir, not a few others ; but I will stop here, till I  
 ‘ have heard the laws I have mentioned, justified by  
 ‘ those who seem to be so much in love with *septen-*  
 ‘ *niel Parliaments* ; and if they can justify all that  
 ‘ has been done by such Parliaments, I now promise  
 ‘ most solemnly to be of their opinion ; but till then  
 ‘ I hope they will excuse me in being for the repeal  
 ‘ of a law, which, in my opinion, has never done  
 ‘ any good, which has produced a great deal of  
 ‘ mischief, and which, I am much afraid, will quite  
 ‘ overturn our constitution, if it continues for any  
 ‘ time unrepealed.’

Sir John  
 Barnard's  
 speech.

Sir John Barnard. ‘ I am a good deal surpris’d,  
 ‘ Sir, to find that none of those gentlemen, who  
 ‘ usually have a great share in our debates, seem in-  
 ‘ clined to take any share in this : I hope they will  
 ‘ allow it to be a question of some consequence to  
 ‘ their country ; and if it should be carried in the  
 ‘ affirmative, some of them may perhaps find it a  
 ‘ question of some consequence to themselves. I will

‘ venture

‘ venture to say, that I have not heard a question better supported on one side, and less said against it on the other, by the gentlemen who have already spoken, since I sat in Parliament ; and now I stand up, not that I think any thing needful to be added to what has been said in support of it, but that I cannot think of letting a question go, in the success of which I think the happiness of my country so deeply concerned, without my joining with other gentlemen in shewing all the regard for it that lies in my power.

‘ An hon. and learned gentleman has indeed advanced a doctrine which I think altogether new, That we are to have no farther dependence on our electors, after we have taken our seats in this house ; nay, that a dependence upon them would be more dangerous than a dependence on the crown : This, Sir, is really, in my opinion, something very new ; though that gentleman may perhaps like the one better than the other, yet I shall always look upon a dependence on the people of *England*, or even upon those I represent, to be less dangerous and more honourable, than a dependence on the crown ; and I value myself more on the honour I have had of sitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the representatives of the people of *England*, and by the free and uncorrupted choice of those I represent, than I should do on the greatest honours the crown can bestow. Indeed if I had obtained my seat here by bribery, or by the illegal and corrupt influence of any great minister, I should look upon it in a very different light ; I should look upon it as one of the most disgraceful stations I could be in.

‘ It has been affirmed by several gentlemen, who have spoken on the other side of the question, that the longer Parliaments continued, the less influence the crown had upon them ; and for a proof of this they have instanced the long Parliament in King

‘ *Charles* the second’s reign. The same gentlemen  
 ‘ have likewise asserted, that *triennial Parliaments*  
 ‘ would distress his Majesty’s government: How  
 ‘ these two assertions are compatible, I leave to the  
 ‘ gentlemen themselves to explain; for to me it ap-  
 ‘ pears impossible that both can be true; because if  
 ‘ the crown has always the less influence in a Parlia-  
 ‘ ment the longer it continues, surely the shortening  
 ‘ the time of its duration cannot distress any King’s  
 ‘ government. But as to the long Parliament in  
 ‘ King *Charles*’s time, though they did not towards  
 ‘ the end shew the same servile compliance that they  
 ‘ had done for many years before, yet it is plain,  
 ‘ that the crown thought that Parliament fitter for  
 ‘ the purposes of the court at that time, than they  
 ‘ could expect any new Parliament chosen by the  
 ‘ people to be; otherwise, as the King had it in his  
 ‘ power, he would certainly have dissolved them  
 ‘ much sooner: And if that long Parliament really  
 ‘ deserved the name usually given to it, we must  
 ‘ conclude, that their non-compliance at last was not  
 ‘ owing to their virtue, or a want of inclination to  
 ‘ receive, but to a want of power in the crown to  
 ‘ give. The people were not then accustomed to  
 ‘ bear such heavy burdens as they do at present; the  
 ‘ revenues of the crown were not so large, nor the  
 ‘ posts and places at the disposal of the crown so nu-  
 ‘ merous; there was not such a numerous standing  
 ‘ army to support the Parliament, in case they had  
 ‘ gone on in the same servile method: And as the  
 ‘ complaints of the people grew loud and clamor-  
 ‘ ous; as there was little to be got, and a great deal  
 ‘ to be apprehended, by the continuance of a servile  
 ‘ compliance, it is very probable that these were the  
 ‘ true reasons of the Parliament’s becoming at last so  
 ‘ restive: And if the nation was now in the same  
 ‘ state it was at that time, I should not be half so  
 ‘ much afraid of *septennial Parliaments* as I think I  
 ‘ have now good reason to be.

‘ The

' The animosities, disputes, and divisions about  
 ' elections, have been set in the most dreadful light,  
 ' and have been represented as so great an inconve-  
 ' nience, that we ought to run the risque of having  
 ' our constitution overturned, rather than submit to  
 ' it. But, Sir, can it be imagined that there would  
 ' be the same contention for a seat in Parliament  
 ' which was to continue but for one year, or even  
 ' for three, that there is for one which is to continue  
 ' for seven: The example of the city of *London* plain-  
 ' ly shews us the contrary: As the common coun-  
 ' cil men, and a great many other officers in the ci-  
 ' ty are chosen annually, I have had occasion to be  
 ' often present at these annual elections, and never  
 ' could find that they were attended with any great  
 ' heats and animosities, or with any inconvenience;  
 ' for after the election is over, the contending par-  
 ' ties go home, and live in the same friendship they  
 ' did before; and I am convinced the case would be  
 ' the very same if annual elections for members of  
 ' this house were restored: The same man might  
 ' perhaps be continued and re-chosen every year  
 ' for many years together, probably without any  
 ' dispute or opposition, but his being liable eve-  
 ' ry year to be turned out, would be a conti-  
 ' nual check upon his behaviour, and would make  
 ' him study the interests of the people, instead of  
 ' pursuing only some private and selfish views of his  
 ' own.

' Even as elections stand at present, there would be  
 ' no such contentions, nor any such heats and animo-  
 ' sities as we hear of, if they were intirely left to  
 ' gentlemen who have a natural interest in the place:  
 ' In such case, if a candidate found himself defeated  
 ' by fair means only, and merely by the superior  
 ' interest of his antagonist, it would not raise his in-  
 ' dignation, it would occasion no heats or animosi-  
 ' ties, he would wait with patience for a new opportu-



' nity, and in the mean time would endeavour to  
 ' recommend himself to his country by acts of hos-  
 ' pitality and benevolence. It is ministers of state  
 ' intermeddling in elections, it is election-brokers,  
 ' and such dealers in corruption, that occasion all  
 ' the heats and animosities we have; for when a  
 ' gentleman of a great natural interest sees his elec-  
 ' tors obliged by power, or bribed by money, to  
 ' vote against him, perhaps in favour of an utter  
 ' stranger, it cannot but raise his indignation; it  
 ' may indeed justly raise his utmost fury and re-  
 ' venge.

' It is certain, Sir, that if the people were intire-  
 ' ly left to themselves, they would, without much  
 ' contention, always chuse the gentlemen who, by  
 ' having large properties of their own, might be  
 ' reasonably supposed to be such as would take the  
 ' best care of the properties of their fellow-subjects:  
 ' But if the people should ever begin to see their re-  
 ' presentatives making their seats in Parliament places  
 ' of profit, and bartering their votes and their be-  
 ' haviour in Parliament for posts, places and pen-  
 ' sions, the people will soon follow the example of  
 ' their representatives, and will insist upon sharing  
 ' with them in the profits. Thus, by degrees, the  
 ' minds of the people will be debauched, they will be  
 ' brought to think that the selling their votes at  
 ' elections is no crime; the representatives who buy  
 ' their seats must sell their votes, and at last all re-  
 ' gard for the public good will be generally laid  
 ' aside by all sorts of men. The only effectual me-  
 ' thod, Sir, of preventing this fatal effect, is to re-  
 ' store annual elections; for then it would be im-  
 ' possible even for the treasury itself (if ever the pub-  
 ' lic money should come to be so misapplied) to is-  
 ' sue yearly, sums of money sufficient to get the  
 ' better of the natural interest, which country gen-  
 ' tlemen always have in the places where they and  
 ' their families have perhaps for many generations  
 ' resided;



‘ resided ; the consequence of which will be, that  
 ‘ none but country gentlemen, and those who have  
 ‘ a natural interest in the place, will ever appear as  
 ‘ candidates ; and thus neither the morals of the peo-  
 ‘ ple will be debauched, nor their properties plunder-  
 ‘ ed, nor their liberties destroyed by those election-  
 ‘ brokers, and ministerial agents, or their candi-  
 ‘ dates, who never can be employed or set up but for  
 ‘ such base purposes.

‘ As for our credit abroad, which, it is pretended,  
 ‘ *septennial Parliaments* very much contributed to, I  
 ‘ think it is evident that it has been sinking ever  
 ‘ since the *septennial law* took place ; which con-  
 ‘ firms what was justly observed by an honourable  
 ‘ gentleman, that the credit of the nation among  
 ‘ foreigners does not depend upon the length or  
 ‘ shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that cor-  
 ‘ respondence or confidence which ought always to  
 ‘ be kept up between the King and his people. I  
 ‘ will not say that this decay of our credit abroad  
 ‘ has been altogether owing to the *septennial law* ;  
 ‘ but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been  
 ‘ *septennial*, they would probably before now have  
 ‘ inquired into the conduct of those who have been  
 ‘ the causes of this decay ; and whatever reasons the  
 ‘ decay of our credit among foreigners may have  
 ‘ been owing to, it is now come to so low an ebb,  
 ‘ that we really seem to have almost none to lose.  
 ‘ This, I am sorry to say it, seems to be our case at  
 ‘ present ; and as I think nothing can so effectually  
 ‘ restore our credit abroad, as the restoring our con-  
 ‘ stitution at home, I shall therefore give my vote  
 ‘ for the question.

Sir *William Yonge*. ‘ I can assure you, Sir, I did Sir *Will.*  
 ‘ not sit still, because I thought much had been said *Yonge's*  
 ‘ in this debate upon one side of the question, and *speech.*  
 ‘ nothing upon the other, but because after what  
 ‘ had been offered by my worthy friend under the

‘ gallery, who spoke early in the debate, and the  
 ‘ honourable and learned gentleman who spoke  
 ‘ some time ago against the question, I thought it  
 ‘ might be looked on as a vanity in me to pre-  
 ‘ tend to add any thing to what had been said :  
 ‘ Indeed I am still of the same opinion, and should  
 ‘ have continued in my resolution of not giving you  
 ‘ any trouble this day, had not the honourable gen-  
 ‘ tleman over the way thrown out what I take to  
 ‘ be a very uncandid reflexion upon my honourable  
 ‘ and learned friend.

‘ My learned friend happened to make an obser-  
 ‘ vation, which I still think a very just one ; he  
 ‘ said, that after we are returned and have taken  
 ‘ our seats in this house, we ought not any longer to  
 ‘ have a dependence upon those we represent. This  
 ‘ the honourable gentleman laid hold of, he not on-  
 ‘ ly called it a new and a very extraordinary doc-  
 ‘ trine ; but he dropt an expression such as I think  
 ‘ ought not to be made use of in this house : As to  
 ‘ the observation made by my learned friend, he  
 ‘ certainly meant, and I believe almost every gen-  
 ‘ tleman understood him, that after we have taken  
 ‘ our seats in this house, we ought, every one of  
 ‘ us, to look upon our selves as one of the repre-  
 ‘ sentatives of the whole body of the Commons of  
 ‘ *England*, and ought not to have any particular  
 ‘ bias for the county, city or borough we repre-  
 ‘ sent. This, Sir, is so far from being a doctrine  
 ‘ very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wish  
 ‘ every gentleman in this house would make it a  
 ‘ standing rule for his conduct ; for I cannot help  
 ‘ observing, that there are some gentlemen in the  
 ‘ house, who on many occasions confine their thoughts  
 ‘ too much to the particular county, city or borough  
 ‘ they represent ; but surely they must be sensible,  
 ‘ that many things may happen in Parliament which  
 ‘ may be for the interest of the nation in general,  
 ‘ tho’ they may not perhaps quadrate so exactly with  
 ‘ the

‘ the particular interest of *London, Bristol, Liver-*  
‘ *pool*, or other like city ; and in such a case the  
‘ gentlemen must surely grant, that as members of  
‘ this house, they ought to drop not only their de-  
‘ pendence upon, but even their concern for the  
‘ particular city they represent, in order to concur  
‘ with the rest of the members of this house in what  
‘ they judge to be for the general interest of the  
‘ nation.

‘ This, Sir, I thought myself obliged to say in  
‘ vindication of my learned friend ; but as to the  
‘ question itself I shall give you but very little trouble ;  
‘ for tho’ I must do the gentlemen who introduced  
‘ this motion the justice to own, that they did it  
‘ with as much candour, and in as pretty a manner  
‘ as ever I heard any question introduced in this  
‘ house, yet all the arguments they made use of  
‘ were so fully answered, and the objections against  
‘ their motion stated in so clear a light, by the two  
‘ worthy gentlemen who spoke first against their  
‘ motion, that I cannot agree to it ; and, indeed,  
‘ as I believe, we owe the happiness of having  
‘ the present royal family upon the throne, and the  
‘ liberty of debating any question in this house,  
‘ chiefly to the *septennial law*, I shall never agree  
‘ to the repeal of that law, without seeing much  
‘ stronger reasons for it than any I have hitherto  
‘ heard offered.

‘ One of the great inconveniences said to attend  
‘ *septennial Parliaments* is, that they heighten and in-  
‘ crease those heats and animosities, which are usually  
‘ raised among the people about the time of elec-  
‘ tions ; but this I cannot agree to, because it is well  
‘ known that those heats and animosities rose to as  
‘ great a height, nay to a much greater height, dur-  
‘ ing the continuance of *triennial Parliaments*, than  
‘ they ever did since that time ; from whence we  
‘ may observe, that the violence of those heats and  
‘ animosities, does not depend upon the quick or the

' flow returns of elections, but upon the temper of  
 ' the people at the time. In every nation there arises  
 ' sometimes a general ferment among the people,  
 ' sometimes without any visible cause, and often from  
 ' causes that are in themselves unjust: In this nation,  
 ' if an election for a new Parliament should come  
 ' on when the nation is in any such ferment, the  
 ' heats and animosities of that time would certainly  
 ' become extremely violent, nay so violent as to  
 ' endanger the peace of the kingdom; and if we had  
 ' *annual* or even *triennial* *Parliaments*, no such fer-  
 ' ment could ever happen but what would probably  
 ' be attended with an election, by which the nation  
 ' might be involved in such frequent disorders and  
 ' confusions, as might at last make us a prey for some  
 ' foreign enemy, which, in my opinion, is a danger  
 ' much more to be apprehended, than any danger  
 ' our constitution can be in from having our Parlia-  
 ' ments *septennial*.

' Another inconvenience is, that *septennial* *Parlia-*  
 ' *ments* increase and give encouragement to bribery  
 ' and corruption. That there is bribery and corrup-  
 ' tion, that there always has been bribery and cor-  
 ' ruption, is a fact I shall not dispute: But, Sir, that  
 ' the increase or decrease of that vice depends upon  
 ' the frequent or the rare return of elections, is what  
 ' I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will al-  
 ' ways depend upon the virtue of the people in ge-  
 ' neral, and the humour they happen to be in at the  
 ' time. I wish bribery and corruption of all kinds could  
 ' be prevented; but the evil I am afraid is inevitable;  
 ' for notwithstanding the many express laws against  
 ' it, notwithstanding the severe law made but a lit-  
 ' tle while ago for preventing it, yet we find that  
 ' methods have been contrived for evading all those  
 ' laws, either by giving great entertainments and  
 ' great plenty of victuals, or by some more secret  
 ' and corrupt practices, so that the only way to pre-  
 ' vent the growth of this evil, is to preserve the  
 ' virtue

‘ virtue of the people ; and I believe the best way to  
‘ preserve the virtue of the people, is to give them  
‘ as few opportunities as possible for being vicious ;  
‘ from whence I must conclude, that for obviating  
‘ this inconvenience, *septennial Parliaments* are better  
‘ than *triennial*.

‘ If so many and so great inconveniences have been  
‘ felt all over the nation from *septennial Parliaments*,  
‘ if so great complaints have been made, it is very  
‘ strange, Sir, that no attempt has been made, ever  
‘ since the passing of that law, for the repeal of it :  
‘ But the time now chosen for making that attempt,  
‘ shews plainly with what view it is made : It is  
‘ now the last session of a Parliament, a new election  
‘ must soon come on, and as this motion has an ap-  
‘ pearance of popularity among the meaner sort of  
‘ electors, it may be of service to some gentlemen at  
‘ the next election : And as to the contentions about  
‘ these elections beginning so early, I do not know  
‘ by whom they were begun, but I believe they  
‘ have been set on foot on purpose to furnish gentle-  
‘ men with arguments in this day’s debate ; and an  
‘ honourable gentleman has accordingly taken hold  
‘ of it, and has made use of those contentions so  
‘ early begun, as an argument against *septennial*  
‘ *Parliaments*.

‘ Another honourable gentleman has given us a  
‘ glorious catalogue, as he was pleased to call it, of  
‘ laws passed by *septennial Parliaments* ; but I think  
‘ he ought, in a particular manner to have guarded  
‘ against putting the riot act into that catalogue, for  
‘ he knows it was founded on the same motive  
‘ with the *septennial* : it was absolutely necessary for  
‘ the safety of the government, and had it not been  
‘ for some executions in *Fleet-street*, in consequence  
‘ of that act, I am persuaded it would not have been  
‘ possible to have preserved the peace of the king-  
‘ dom at that time ; and I must say, that it is some-  
‘ what very strange to hear gentlemen arguing a-  
‘ gainst



' gainst contentions and riots at elections, and at the  
 ' same time complaining of that law which was made  
 ' for the preventing of riots upon any occasion. As  
 ' to the law for regulating trials in cases of treason,  
 ' there was never a more reasonable law passed in  
 ' Parliament: Is it not at all times absolutely incon-  
 ' sistent with the safety of the government; nay, is  
 ' it not in itself ridiculous, that rebels and traitors  
 ' should be tried by a jury of their own friends and  
 ' relations, embarked in the same wicked designs,  
 ' and as much disaffected to the government as the  
 ' prisoners at the bar? Can it be expected that such  
 ' a jury will ever find the prisoners guilty? and there-  
 ' fore when whole counties had rebelled, what could  
 ' have been more reasonable than the sending the  
 ' rebels of those counties to be tried in other coun-  
 ' ties, where an honest and a disinterested jury might  
 ' be found; and as that law was confined to the  
 ' rebels then in custody, or such as should be taken  
 ' within a short time after, I am surprised to hear  
 ' it found fault with.

' We have been told, Sir, that the nation in ge-  
 ' neral desires the repeal of the *septennial law*, and  
 ' that instructions have been sent up to several mem-  
 ' bers for that purpose. As to the desires of the na-  
 ' tion in general, it is a fact not easy to be deter-  
 ' mined; I do not know but the mob, I mean  
 ' such as have no business with elections, may gene-  
 ' rally desire the repeal of this law, because they  
 ' would then have an opportunity of getting drunk,  
 ' committing riots, and living idly, much oftener  
 ' than they have at present; but as to all those who  
 ' have any right to vote at elections, I am convinced  
 ' the generality of them desire no such thing. And  
 ' as for those instructions that may have been sent  
 ' up to members, no man is ignorant how they are  
 ' usually obtained: I saw a copy of one of them  
 ' lately in one of our evening news-papers, and by  
 ' the stile of it I may leave any gentleman to judge,  
 ' what

‘ what sort of Persons they were who sent it, or rather obtained its being sent. As the memory of King *William* will always, they know, be revered in *England*, by all those who are attached to the true interest of their country, these instructions take particular notice, that the *triennial law* was passed in the reign of our great deliverer, King *William*, of glorious and immortal memory : But does not every man, who has read the history of his reign, know, that that law was promoted by those who were perhaps friends to the revolution, but enemies to the then administration, co-operating with those who were enemies to both.

‘ In short, Sir, the *septennial law*, as well as the riot act, passed for the safety and establishment of the present government ; and, as I think in my conscience, the repeal of either of them would endanger the government, I am therefore heartily against your question.’

Sir *William Windham*. ‘ Sir, the honourable gentleman who spoke last, in vindicating, as he called it, his learned friend, threw out a very unfair reflection upon the conduct of a worthy gentleman under the gallery, whose behaviour in Parliament, I have been a witness of, and I can say without flattery, it has been as even and as honourable, as the behaviour of any gentleman in this house ; and if the honourable gentleman thinks otherwise, I dare say he is single in his opinion : He is, I believe, the only man, either in the house or out of it, who thinks so ; I wish the behaviour of every other gentleman, I will not say in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable ; for if it had, I am very sure we should have had no occasion for this day’s debate.

Sir *William Windham*’s speech.

‘ The observation made by the learned gentleman, which the honourable gentleman took up so much time to explain, was without exception ; it was just, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither  
‘ an

‘ an explanation nor a vindication ; but, Sir, what  
‘ the worthy gentleman under the gallery, and others  
‘ as well as he, took notice of, was an expreffion  
‘ that fell from the learned gentleman, I dare fay,  
‘ without design : He faid, that we were to have no  
‘ dependence upon our conftituents ; he went farther,  
‘ he faid it was a dangerous dependence ; nay, he  
‘ went farther ftill, and faid, it was more dangerous  
‘ than a dependence on the crown : This my worthy  
‘ friend took notice of, and with his ufual modefty,  
‘ called it a new doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a  
‘ new doctrine, but it is the moft monftrous, the  
‘ moft flavifh doctrine that was ever heard, and fuch  
‘ a doctrine, as I hope no man will ever dare to fup-  
‘ port within thefe walls ; I am perfuaded, Sir, the  
‘ learned gentleman did not mean what the words  
‘ he happened to make ufe of, may feem to import ;  
‘ for tho’ the people of a county, city, or borough  
‘ may be mifled, and may be induced to give in-  
‘ ftructions, which are contrary to the true intereft  
‘ of their country, yet I hope he will allow, that in  
‘ times paft, the crown has been oftner mifled, and  
‘ confequently, we muft conclude, that it is more  
‘ apt to be mifled in time to come, than we can fup-  
‘ pofe the people to be.

‘ As to the contefts about the next election, Sir,  
‘ that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain  
‘ fact ; but who the beginners were may not be fo  
‘ certain, or at leaft, not fo generally known ; and  
‘ the honourable gentleman who fpoke laft feemed  
‘ to be ignorant, or indeed, rather to miftake who  
‘ were the beginners of them ; but if he pleafes to  
‘ look about him, he may fee one not far diftant  
‘ from him, who, by his agents, was the firft and  
‘ the principal beginner of them, in moft parts of  
‘ the kingdom. To fee them begin fo foon, is no  
‘ new thing, Sir ; it is a ftale minifterial artifice ; it  
‘ has been praftifed ever fince *feptennial Parliaments*  
‘ took place, and will be praftifed as long as they  
‘ continue ;

‘ continue : Ministers of state know well how unequal the contention is between a country gentleman, who has nothing but his own estate (greatly exhausted by the many taxes he pays) to depend on, and ministerial election-mongers, supplied by gentlemen in office, who have for seven years been heaping up money for that purpose, or perhaps supplied even by the public treasure of the nation ; and the sooner this contention begins, the greater disadvantage the country gentlemen labour under, the more time those tools of corruption have to practise upon the electors, and to discover where that money may be placed to the best advantage, which is issued for corrupting the people, and overturning the constitution : From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the first beginners of such contentions.

‘ The learned gentleman (as well as some others, particularly an honourable gentleman under the gallery, who spoke early in the debate, and who indeed said as much, and in as handsome a manner as can, in my opinion, be said against the question) has told us, that our constitution has been often varied ; and that there was no time, when it was such as we ought, or would desire, to return to. Sir, it is not to be doubted, but our constitution has often varied, and perhaps, there is no time when it was without a fault ; but I will affirm, that there is no time, in which we may not find some good things in our constitution : There are now, there have been in every century, some good laws existing : Let us preserve those that are good ; if any of them have been abolished, let them be restored, and if any of the laws now in being, are found to be attended with inconveniences, let them be repealed : This is what is now desired, this is what the people have reason to expect from Parliament ; there is nothing now desired but what the people have a right to ; they have now, they always had



‘ a right to frequent new Parliaments ; and this right  
 ‘ was established and confirmed, even by the claim  
 ‘ of rights, notwithstanding what the learned gentle-  
 ‘ man has said to the contrary. At the time of the  
 ‘ revolution, nay at the present time, at all times,  
 ‘ the word Parliament, in the common way of  
 ‘ speaking, comprehends all the sessions held from  
 ‘ one election to another : That this is the common  
 ‘ meaning of the word, I appeal to every gentleman  
 ‘ in this house ; and for this reason, those patriots,  
 ‘ who drew up our claim of rights, could not ima-  
 ‘ gine, that it was necessary to put in the word *new* :  
 ‘ They could not so much as dream, that the two  
 ‘ words, *frequent Parliaments*, would afterwards be  
 ‘ interpreted to mean, *frequent sessions of Parliament* ;  
 ‘ but the lawyers, who are accustomed to confound  
 ‘ the sense of the plainest words, immediately found  
 ‘ out, that a session of Parliament was a Parliament,  
 ‘ and that therefore the words *frequent Parliaments*,  
 ‘ meant only *frequent sessions* : This quirk the lawyers  
 ‘ found out immediately after the revolution ; this  
 ‘ quirk the courtiers at that time caught hold of ;  
 ‘ and this set the people anew, upon the vindication  
 ‘ of their rights, which they obtained by the *triennial*  
 ‘ *bill* : By that bill, the right of the people to fre-  
 ‘ quent new Parliaments, was established in such  
 ‘ clear terms, as not to be misunderstood ; and  
 ‘ God forgive them who consented to the giving it  
 ‘ up.

‘ I am extremely surprised, Sir, to hear it said,  
 ‘ that the *triennial bill* was introduced by the enemies  
 ‘ to the revolution. I will not say that it was intro-  
 ‘ duced by the courtiers at that time : We seldom see  
 ‘ such bills introduced by such gentlemen ; but does  
 ‘ not every one know, that it was my lord *Somers*  
 ‘ who was the chief promoter of that bill, and that  
 ‘ most of those who supported him in it, were gen-  
 ‘ tlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing



‘ about the revolution? It is true, the courtiers opposed it, and even King *William* himself, by the advice of some wicked ministers, refused to pass it the first time it was offered; but when it came back again to him, he was better advised; and if he had not passed it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do, nor that which, when he came, he promised to do, which was to restore the people to the full enjoyment of all their rights and privileges.

‘ To pretend, Sir, that the *triennial bill* was introduced with a view of distressing King *William*’s government, is really casting a reflection upon his government; for to tell us, that the people’s claiming those rights, which he came to establish, was a distressing of his government, is to tell us, that his government was contrary to the rights of the people, which is in my opinion, a very high reflection, and such a one as the gentlemen, who tell us so, would not patiently hear cast upon that reign by others. The other pretence, that *triennial Parliaments* were the cause of his putting an end to the war, or of that treaty which was so much complained of, is, I am sure, as groundless; for the second war was begun and carried on with great success, under the influence of *triennial Parliaments*, till the balance of power was fully restored, and so firmly established, that *France* has never since endeavoured to make the least encroachment upon any of her neighbours: What some late measures may encourage her to do hereafter, I shall not pretend to determine; but this nation has, ever since that time, enjoyed what I think I may call a profound tranquillity, which, if the *triennial law* had remained in force, we should, I believe, have made a much better use of, than we now seem to have done.

‘ The

‘ The learned gentleman has told us, that the *septennial law*, is a proper medium between the unlimited power of the crown, and the limiting that power too much ; but, Sir, before he had fixed upon this as a medium, he should first have discovered to us the two extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited power in the crown, with respect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one extreme ; but the other, I cannot really find out ; for I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown was too much limited by the *triennial law*, or that the happiness of the nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent elections. As to the power of the crown, it is very certain, that as long as the administration of public affairs, is agreeable to the generality of the people, were they to choose a new Parliament every year, they would choose such representatives as would most heartily concur in every thing with such an administration ; so that even an *annual Parliament* could not be any limitation of the just power of the crown ; and as to the happiness of the nation, it is certain, that gentlemen will always contend with more heat and animosity about being members of a long Parliament, than about being members of a short one ; and therefore, the elections for a *septennial Parliament* must always disturb the peace, and injure the happiness of the nation, more than the elections for an *annual* or *triennial Parliament* : Of this the elections in the city of *London*, mentioned by my worthy friend, are an evident demonstration.

‘ As to the elections coming on when the nation is in a ferment, it is so far from being an objection to frequent elections, that it is, in my opinion, Sir, a strong argument in favour of them ; because it is one of the chief supports of the freedom of the nation. It is plain, that the people seldom or ever were in a ferment, but when incroachments were

‘ made upon their rights and privileges ; and when  
‘ any such are made, it is very proper, nay it is  
‘ even necessary, that the people should be allowed  
‘ to proceed to a new election, in order that they  
‘ may choose such representatives, as will do them  
‘ justice, by punishing those who have been making  
‘ encroachments upon them ; otherwise one of these  
‘ two effects may very probably ensue : Either the  
‘ ferment will break out into an open insurrection, or  
‘ the encroachment that has been made, may happen  
‘ to be forgot before a new election comes on, and  
‘ then the invaders of the people’s rights, will have  
‘ a much better lay for getting such a new Parlia-  
‘ ment chosen, as will not only free them from all  
‘ punishment, but will confirm the encroachments  
‘ that have been made, and encourage the making  
‘ of new. Thus the rights of the people may be  
‘ nibbled and curtailed by piecemeal, and ambitious  
‘ criminals may at last get themselves so firmly  
‘ seated, that it will be out of the power of the  
‘ people to stop their career, or to avoid the chains  
‘ which they are preparing.

‘ Now, Sir, to return to the power of the crown,  
‘ which the learned Gentleman has told us was too  
‘ much limited by the *triennial law* ; I think I have  
‘ made it plain, that the just power of the crown  
‘ cannot possibly be limited by frequent elections,  
‘ and consequently could not be too much limited by  
‘ the *triennial law* ; but by long Parliaments the  
‘ crown may be enabled to assume, and to make use  
‘ of an unjust power. By our constitution, the only  
‘ legal method we have of vindicating our rights  
‘ and privileges, against the encroachments of ambi-  
‘ tious ministers, is by Parliament ; the only way we  
‘ have of rectifying a weak or wicked admini-  
‘ stration, is by Parliament, the only effectual  
‘ way we have of bringing high and powerful  
‘ criminals to condign punishment, is by Parlia-  
‘ ment ; but if ever it should come to be in the  
‘ power of the administration to have a majority of

‘ this house depending upon the crown, or to get a  
 ‘ majority of such men returned as the representa-  
 ‘ tives of the people, the Parliament will then stand  
 ‘ us in no stead. It can answer none of these great  
 ‘ purposes; the whole nation may be convinced of  
 ‘ the weakness or the wickedness of those in the ad-  
 ‘ ministration, and yet it may be out of the nation’s  
 ‘ power, in a legal way, to get the fools turned out,  
 ‘ or the knaves hanged.

‘ This misfortune, Sir, can be brought upon us  
 ‘ by nothing but by bribery and corruption; and  
 ‘ therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more  
 ‘ watchfully against. And an hon. gentleman who  
 ‘ spoke some time ago, upon the same side with me,  
 ‘ has so clearly demonstrated, that the elections for  
 ‘ a *septennial Parliament* are more liable to be in-  
 ‘ fluenced by corruption than those for a *triennial*,  
 ‘ that I am surpris’d his argument should be mistak-  
 ‘ en, or not comprehended: But it seems the most  
 ‘ certain maxims, the plainest truths, are now to be  
 ‘ controverted or denied. It has been laid down as  
 ‘ a maxim, and I think it is a most infallible maxim,  
 ‘ that a man will contend with more heat and vigour  
 ‘ for a post, either of honour or profit, which he is  
 ‘ to hold for a long term, than he will do for one he  
 ‘ is to hold for a short term; This has been contro-  
 ‘ verted. It has been laid down as a maxim, and I  
 ‘ think equally infallible, that 100 guineas is a more  
 ‘ powerful bribe than 50; this has been denied. Yet  
 ‘ nevertheless I must beg leave to push this argument  
 ‘ a little farther.

‘ Let us suppose, Sir, a gentleman at the head of  
 ‘ the administration, whose only safety depends upon  
 ‘ corrupting the members of this house: This may  
 ‘ now be only a supposition, but it is certainly such  
 ‘ a one as may happen; and if ever it should, let  
 ‘ us see whether such a minister might not promise  
 ‘ himself more success in a *septennial* than he could  
 ‘ in a *triennial Parliament*. It is an old maxim,  
 ‘ that every man has his price, if you can but come

‘ up



‘ up to it: This, I hope, does not hold true of every  
 ‘ man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true;  
 ‘ and that of a great many it may hold true, is what,  
 ‘ I believe, was never doubted of; though I don’t  
 ‘ know but it may now likewise be denied. How-  
 ‘ ever, let us suppose this distressed minister apply-  
 ‘ ing to one of those men who has a price, and is a  
 ‘ member of this house: In order to engage this  
 ‘ member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers  
 ‘ him a pension of 1000 *l.* a year; if it be but a *tri-*  
 ‘ *ennial Parliament*, will not the member imme-  
 ‘ diately consider within himself; if I accept of this  
 ‘ pension, and vote according to direction, I shall  
 ‘ lose my character in the country, I shall lose my  
 ‘ seat in parliament the next election, and my pen-  
 ‘ sion will then of course be at an end; so that by  
 ‘ turning rogue I shall get but 3000 *l.* this is not  
 ‘ worth my while; and so the minister must either  
 ‘ offer him perhaps the double of that sum, or other-  
 ‘ wise he will probably determine against being cor-  
 ‘ rupted; but if the Parliament were *septennial*, the  
 ‘ same man might perhaps say within himself, I am  
 ‘ now in for seven years, by accepting of this pension  
 ‘ I shall have at least 7000 *l.* this will set me above  
 ‘ contempt, and if I am turned out at next election,  
 ‘ I do not value it, I’ll take the money in the mean  
 ‘ time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this,  
 ‘ Sir, and does not this evidently shew, that a wicked  
 ‘ minister cannot corrupt a *triennial Parliament*, with  
 ‘ the same money with which he may corrupt a *sep-*  
 ‘ *tennial*.

‘ Again, suppose this minister applies to a gentle-  
 ‘ man who has purchased, and thereby made him-  
 ‘ self member for a borough, at the rate of perhaps  
 ‘ 1500 *l.* besides travelling charges, and other little  
 ‘ expences: Suppose the minister offers him a pen-  
 ‘ sion of 500 *l.* a year to engage his vote, will not  
 ‘ he naturally consider, if it be a *triennial Parlia-*  
 ‘ *ment*, that if he cannot get a higher pension he will



' lose money by being a member ; and surely if he  
 ' be a right burges, he will resolve not to sell at all,  
 ' rather than sell his commodity for less than it cost  
 ' him ; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will  
 ' probably give over standing a candidate again upon  
 ' such a footing ; by which not only he, but many  
 ' others, will be induced to give over dealing in  
 ' corrupting the electors at the next election : But  
 ' in case it be a *septennial Parliament*, will he not  
 ' then probably accept of the 500 *l.* pension, if he be  
 ' one of those men that has a price ? Because he con-  
 ' cludes, that for 1500 *l.* he may always secure his  
 ' election, and every Parliament will put near 2000 *l.*  
 ' in his pocket, besides reimbursing him all his  
 ' charges. After viewing the present question in  
 ' this light, is it possible, Sir, not to conclude, that  
 ' *septennial Parliaments*, as well as the elections for  
 ' such, must always be much more liable to be in-  
 ' fluenced by corruption than *triennial*, or the elec-  
 ' tions for *triennial*.

' For my own part, Sir, I have been often chosen,  
 ' I have sat in Parliament above these twenty years,  
 ' and I can say with truth, that neither at my elec-  
 ' tion, nor after my return, no man ever dared  
 ' to attempt to let me know what is meant by bri-  
 ' bery and corruption ; but I am sorry to hear the  
 ' impossibility of preventing it mentioned, and men-  
 ' tioned too, Sir, within these walls. The hon. gen-  
 ' tleman who spoke last, told us the evil of corrup-  
 ' tion was inevitable : If I were so unhappy as to  
 ' think so, I should look upon my country to be in  
 ' the most melancholy situation. Perhaps it may  
 ' be the way of thinking among those he keeps com-  
 ' pany with ; but I thank God I have a better opi-  
 ' nion of my countrymen ; and since it appears to  
 ' be a way of thinking among some gentlemen, it is  
 ' high time for us to contrive some method of put-  
 ' ting it out of their power to corrupt the virtue of  
 ' the people ; for we may depend upon this as a  
 ' certain

' certain maxim, that those who think they cannot  
 ' gain the affections of the people, will endeavour to  
 ' purchase their prostitution; and the best way to  
 ' prevent the success of their endeavours, is to raise  
 ' the price so high, as to put it out of the power of  
 ' any man, or of any set of men to come up to it.  
 ' If a Parliament is to be purchased, if elections are  
 ' to be purchased, it is manifest the corrupting of  
 ' *triennial* must, upon the whole, cost a great deal  
 ' more than the corrupting of *septennial elections* or  
 ' *Parliaments*. Therefore, in order to put it out of  
 ' the power of any man, or of any administration,  
 ' to purchase the prostitution of a Parliament, or of  
 ' the people, let us return to *triennial Parliaments*;  
 ' and if that will not do, let us return to *annual*  
 ' *elections*, which, I am very certain, would render  
 ' the practice of corruption impossible. This, Sir,  
 ' is now the more necessary, because of the many  
 ' new posts and places of profit which the crown has  
 ' at its disposal, and the great civil list settled upon  
 ' his present Majesty, and which will probably be  
 ' continued to his successors: This, I say, urges the  
 ' necessity for frequent new Parliaments, because the  
 ' crown has it now more in their power than for-  
 ' merly, to seduce the people, or the representatives  
 ' of the people, in case any future administration  
 ' should find it necessary, for their own safety, to  
 ' do so.

' That the increase or decrease of corruption at  
 ' elections, or in Parliament, must always depend  
 ' upon the increase or decrease of virtue among the  
 ' people, I shall readily grant; but it is as certain,  
 ' that the virtue of almost every particular man de-  
 ' pends upon the temptations that are thrown in his  
 ' way; and according to the quantity of virtue he  
 ' has, the quantity of temptation must be raised,  
 ' so as at last to make it an over-balance for his  
 ' virtue. Suppose then, Sir, that the generality of the  
 ' electors in *England* have virtue enough to with-

stand a temptation of five guineas each, but not  
 virtue enough to withstand a temptation of ten  
 guineas one with another ; is it not then much more  
 probable, that the gentlemen who deal in corrup-  
 tion may be able to raise as much money, once  
 every seven years, as will be sufficient to give ten  
 guineas each, one with another, to the generality  
 of the electors, than that they will be able to raise  
 such a sum once in every three years ? And is it  
 not from thence certain, that the virtue of the  
 people in general, is in greater danger of being de-  
 stroyed by *septennial* than by *triennial Parliaments* ?  
 To suppose, Sir, that every man's vote at an elec-  
 tion, is like a commodity which must be sold at  
 the market-price, is really to suppose, that no man  
 has any virtue at all ; for I will aver, that when  
 once a man resolves to sell his vote at any rate, he  
 has then no virtue left, which I hope is not the case  
 of many of our electors, and therefore the only  
 thing we are to apprehend is, lest so a high a price  
 should be offered as may tempt thousands to sell,  
 who had never before any thoughts of carrying  
 such a commodity to market. This, Sir, is the  
 fatal event we are to dread, and it is much more  
 to be dreaded from *septennial* than from *triennial*  
*Parliaments*. If we have therefore any desire to  
 preserve the virtue of our people ; if we have any  
 desire to preserve our constitution ; if we have any  
 desire to preserve our liberties, our properties, and  
 every thing that can be dear to a free people, we  
 ought to restore the *triennial law* ; and if that be  
 found to be insignificant, we ought to abolish pro-  
 rogations, and return to *annual elections*.

The learned gentleman spoke of the prerogative  
 of the crown, and asked us, if it had lately been  
 extended beyond those bounds prescribed to it by  
 law. Sir, I will not say that there has been lately  
 any attempts to extend it beyond the bounds pre-  
 scribed by law ; but I will say, that those bounds  
 have

‘ have been of late so vastly enlarged, that there  
‘ seems to be no great occasion for any such attempt.  
‘ What are the many penal laws made within these  
‘ forty years, but so many extensions of the prerogative of the crown, and as many diminutions of the liberty of the subject? And whatever the necessity was that brought us into the enacting of such laws, it was a fatal necessity; it has greatly added to the power of the crown, and particular care ought to be taken not to throw any more weight into that scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those penal laws might have been avoided; I am persuaded the enacting of the law, relating to trials for treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for though it was but a temporary law, it was a dangerous precedent; and the rebellion was far from being so general in any county, as not to leave a sufficient number of faithful subjects, for trying those who had committed acts of treason within the county.

‘ In former times, the crown had a large estate of its own; an estate sufficient for supporting the dignity of the crown; and as we had no standing armies, nor any great fleets to provide for, the crown did not want frequent supplies; so that they were not under any necessity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such, as much as possible: But though the crown did not then want frequent supplies, the people frequently wanted a redress of grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament; therefore the only complaint then was, that the crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough: This was the only complaint, and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments; every one of which, ’twas presumed, was always to be a new



Parliament ; for 'tis well known, that the method of prorogation was of old very rarely made use of, and was first introduced by those who were attempting to make incroachments upon the rights of the people.

But now, Sir, the case is altered ; the crown, either by ill management, or by prodigality and profuseness to its favourites, has spent or granted away all that estate ; and the public expence is so much enlarged, that the crown must have annual supplies, and is therefore under a necessity of having the Parliament meet every year ; but as new elections are always dangerous, as well as troublesome to ministers of state, they are for having them as seldom as possible ; so that the complaint is not now for want of frequent meetings or sessions of Parliament, but against having the same Parliament continued too long. This is the grievance now complained of ; this is what the people desire ; this is what they have a right to have redressed. The members of Parliament may, for one year, be looked on as the real and true representatives of the people ; but when a minister has seven years to practise upon them, and to feel their pulse, they may be induced to forget whose representatives they are ; they may throw off all dependence upon their electors, and may become dependents upon the crown, or rather upon the minister for the time being, which the learned gentleman has most ingenuously confessed to us, he thinks less dangerous than a dependence upon his electors.

We have been told, Sir, in this house, that no faith is to be given to prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophecy ; but I may suppose a case, which, though it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose, Sir, a man abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state, by the concurrence

of



‘ of many whimsical events ; afraid or unwilling to  
‘ trust any but creatures of his own making, and  
‘ most of them equally abandoned to all notions of  
‘ virtue or honour ; ignorant of the true interest of his  
‘ country, and consulting nothing but that of enrich-  
‘ ing and aggrandizing himself and his favourites ;  
‘ in foreign affairs, trusting none but such whose edu-  
‘ cation makes it impossible for them to have such  
‘ knowledge or such qualifications, as can either be  
‘ of service to their country, or give any weight or  
‘ credit to their negotiations : Let us suppose the  
‘ true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected  
‘ or misunderstood, her honour and credit lost, her  
‘ trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her  
‘ sailors murdered ; and all these things over-looked,  
‘ only for fear his administration should be en-  
‘ dangered : Suppose him, next, possessed of great  
‘ wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a Parlia-  
‘ ment of his own choosing, most of their seats pur-  
‘ chased, and their votes bought at the expence of  
‘ the public treasure : In such a Parliament, let us  
‘ suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct,  
‘ or to relieve the nation from the distress he has  
‘ brought upon it ; and when lights proper for at-  
‘ taining those ends are called for, not perhaps for  
‘ the information of the particular gentlemen who  
‘ call for them, but because nothing can be done in  
‘ a parliamentary way, till these things be in a pro-  
‘ per way laid before Parliament ; suppose these  
‘ lights refused, these reasonable requests rejected by  
‘ a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he re-  
‘ tains in daily pay, or engages in his particular in-  
‘ terest, by granting them those posts and places,  
‘ which ought never to be given to any but for the  
‘ good of the public : Upon this scandalous victory,  
‘ let us suppose this chief minister pluming himself  
‘ in defiance, because he finds he has got a Parlia-  
‘ ment, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at  
‘ all adventures : Let us farther suppose him arrived

‘ to that degree of insolence and arrogance, as to domineer over all the men of ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation; and as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all.

‘ I am still not prophesying, Sir, I am only supposing; and the case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen; but with such a minister and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people, weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice: This case, Sir, has never yet happened in this nation; I hope, I say, it will never exist; but as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a Prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a Parliament. The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws, the existence of such a Prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of Parliament, but the existence of such a Parliament I think we may; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more mischief while the *septennial law* remains in force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the repeal of it.’

Mr. Pel-  
ham's  
speech.

‘ Henry Pelham, Esq; ‘ The honourable gentleman who spoke last, as he always guards what he says, and speaks with so much decency, that no notice can be taken of it in a parliamentary way, so in the last suppositions he was pleased to make, he observed so much caution, that no observations can be made on any thing he said, as being contrary to the orders of this house; yet whatever suppositions he may please to make with respect to ministers,

‘ ministers, I think he ought not to proceed any  
‘ higher, and therefore I wish he had spared the last :  
‘ However, Sir, as these suppositions, and indeed  
‘ every other supposition I have heard, are all  
‘ imaginary, I shall take no farther notice of them :  
‘ They were certainly foreign to the question in de-  
‘ bate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

‘ As to the contentions about elections, I shall not  
‘ pretend, Sir, to determine by whom they were  
‘ begun, but I think, I can easily account for their  
‘ having been begun at the time they were, and that  
‘ in a method very different from that laid down by  
‘ the honourable gentleman who spoke last : It is  
‘ well known what a spirit, if not of disaffection, I  
‘ am sure I may say of distraction, was artfully raised  
‘ during last session of Parliament, in most parts of  
‘ this nation, by the misrepresentation of an affair  
‘ before it was well understood, and which, when it  
‘ came to be explained, could no way bear the mean-  
‘ ing they put upon it : This was thought a proper  
‘ opportunity, by those who raised that spirit, to  
‘ work upon the passions of the people, in order to  
‘ gain their favour, and to engage their votes,  
‘ neither of which they knew they had any chance for  
‘ in any other way ; and this, Sir, I really believe,  
‘ was the reason why the contentions about elections  
‘ began so early in most parts of the kingdom ; so  
‘ that if the gentleman meant my honourable friend  
‘ by me, he was very much mistaken ; but if he  
‘ look another way, and that within his view, he may  
‘ find out the first, the chief beginner of all these  
‘ disturbances.

‘ As to the question itself, Sir, as I did not in-  
‘ tend to have troubled you in this debate, and as  
‘ the question has been already so fully, and so  
‘ handsomely opposed by the honourable gentleman  
‘ under the gallery, and by several others, I shall  
‘ only say in general, that as I am not sensible of  
‘ any

‘ any inconvenience that attends *septennial Parliaments*, but what would, in a much greater degree, attend *triennial*; and as we know from experience, that too frequent elections keep the nation in a continual ferment, and always must expose us to the many evils that ensue from faction and sedition, therefore I shall give my vote against the question.

Mr. Pulteney's  
speech.

*William Pulteney, Esq;* ‘ I intended, from the beginning Sir, to have spoke in this debate; but as I now speak so late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the gentlemen who have spoken before me, having almost intirely exhausted the argument; and I am sure, if those who have heard the debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and against the question, it will hardly bear a division. However, as I voted for this bill on a former occasion, and as the principal, and indeed the only motive, which made me do so, now no longer subsists, I think myself obliged thus publicly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a country, or the government of a country, is in any imminent danger, it often happens, that people think regulations necessary, which, when the danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious consequences, as that very danger which they were made to prevent; and in such a case, surely every honest man must be as fond of having them abolished, as ever he was of having them established.

‘ The hon. gentleman who spoke last, though he let drop some expressions, with relation to that contention already begun about our ensuing elections, which I might take some notice of, yet as he generally speaks with very great candour, I think



‘ think it would be too severe not to pardon any  
‘ slip he may have made in that respect : But as to  
‘ the spirit raised in the nation last session of Parlia-  
‘ ment, which he says was raised by misrepresenta-  
‘ tion, and was pleased to call a spirit, if not of dis-  
‘ affection, at least of distraction, I do not know,  
‘ but it may have been represented as such in an-  
‘ other place ; and whether that was a misrepresenta-  
‘ tion, I shall leave to the world to judge ; but of  
‘ all misrepresentations, I will say, the most criminal  
‘ is that of misrepresenting to the King the true  
‘ sentiments and real inclinations of his people ; for,  
‘ however much some gentlemen may find their in-  
‘ terest in it, I am sure it is not their duty to do  
‘ so ; but I hope his present Majesty will always be  
‘ able to distinguish, and it is the duty of Parlia-  
‘ ment to inform him how to distinguish between  
‘ disaffection to his government, and disaffection to  
‘ his minister. If the honourable gentleman thinks,  
‘ that the affair which occasioned the rise of that  
‘ spirit, was at first misrepresented, or that it gained  
‘ any advantage by being fully explained, he is,  
‘ in the opinion of, I believe, much the greatest part  
‘ of the nation, vastly mistaken ; for, the more se-  
‘ riously that affair has been considered, the more  
‘ fully it has been explained, the more horrible it  
‘ has appeared ; so that the spirit, which was raised  
‘ in opposition to it, was so far from being unjustly  
‘ or groundlessly raised, that I believe it would  
‘ have been for the advantage of the nation, that a  
‘ new election had come on, when that spirit was in  
‘ its greatest vigour ; and I hope it will not al-  
‘ together subside, till the people have fully secured  
‘ their liberties against all such attempts for the  
‘ future.

‘ To imagine, Sir, that frequent elections should  
‘ ever become the cause of faction and sedition, is,  
‘ in my opinion, something very extraordinary ; for  
‘ it is certain, that seditions have always proceeded  
‘ from



' from a general discontent among the people, and  
 ' a long disappointment of meetings, in a legal way,  
 ' with that redress which they had reason to expect;  
 ' and till this discontent becomes violent as well as  
 ' general, no faction will ever break out into sedi-  
 ' tion: Then indeed faction begins to change its  
 ' name, and those men, who at first perhaps with  
 ' justice were charged with being factious, become  
 ' then the patrons and the protectors of the rights of  
 ' the people, and of the liberties of their country;  
 ' for nothing can be called faction, but when a set  
 ' of men combine and unite together against a wise  
 ' and a just government, which no government can  
 ' be, that disoblige and irritates the generality of  
 ' the people. The certain and the only way there-  
 ' fore of preventing sedition, and disappointing fac-  
 ' tion, is to give the people frequent opportunities of  
 ' representing their grievances, and obtaining redress  
 ' in that legal way which is prescribed by the con-  
 ' stitution of their country. Such a way ought cer-  
 ' tainly to be established, and is established in every  
 ' wise constitution; otherwise the people will seek  
 ' that by sedition, which they find they cannot ob-  
 ' tain by law; and the method which is established  
 ' by our constitution, is by a Parliament chosen by  
 ' the free and uncorrupted voice of the people;  
 ' therefore, in order to avoid sedition, every thing  
 ' ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to  
 ' the interrupting the free choice of the people; and  
 ' the oftner this choice is made, the better our coun-  
 ' try is guarded against sedition; because in a long  
 ' Parliament, the people may in the beginning of  
 ' it be disobliged; they may despair of obtaining re-  
 ' dress from that Parliament, and before the end,  
 ' their discontents may become so violent, as to break  
 ' out in seditions and insurrections.

' Faction and sedition, Sir, are two words that  
 ' have always been made use of by the advocates for  
 ' arbitrary power, in order to induce the people to

‘ give up those privileges upon which their liberties  
‘ depended, or to divert them from re-assuming,  
‘ or vindicating those which had been before  
‘ foolishly given up, or unjustly usurped and taken  
‘ from them ; but it is to be hoped, those two hi-  
‘ deous words will never in this country have the  
‘ desired effect. It has been already fully shewn,  
‘ that the elections for a long Parliament, must al-  
‘ ways be attended with more violent heats and ani-  
‘ mosities, than the elections for a short one ; consequent-  
‘ ly the country must always be more exposed to  
‘ factions and seditions by the former, than by the  
‘ latter : I do not know, but the election for a Par-  
‘ liament may come at last to be like the election of  
‘ a King of *Poland* ; it may be always attended with  
‘ a civil war, perhaps with an unwelcome visit from  
‘ some of our neighbours : Therefore, if the fears of  
‘ faction and sedition be any argument against fre-  
‘ quent elections, as good an argument may from  
‘ thence be drawn against electing any new Parlia-  
‘ ment at all ; so that I do not know, but I may see  
‘ a proposition made for continuing our seats in this  
‘ house for life ; and after that, it may be thought  
‘ proper to make a law for transmitting them to our  
‘ heirs, nay even to our executors or administrators.

‘ An honourable gentleman seemed much surpris’d,  
‘ that the riot act should have been mentioned upon  
‘ this occasion, or that any gentleman should have  
‘ the least thought of having it repealed. Sir, I de-  
‘ clare, upon my honour, that of all the actions I  
‘ ever did in my life, there is not one I more hearti-  
‘ ly and sincerely repent of, than my voting for the  
‘ passing of that law. I believe I am as little sus-  
‘ pected of disaffection to his Majesty or his family,  
‘ as any man in the kingdom ; it was my too great  
‘ zeal for his illustrious family transported me to give  
‘ that vote, for which I am now heartily grieved :  
‘ But even then I never imagined it was to remain

‘ a law for ever ; no, Sir, this government is found-  
 ‘ ed upon resistance ; it was the principle of resist-  
 ‘ ance that brought about the revolution, which can-  
 ‘ not be justified upon any other principle. Is then  
 ‘ passive obedience and non-resistance to be establish-  
 ‘ ed by a perpetual law, by a law the most severe  
 ‘ and the most arbitrary of any in *England*, and that  
 ‘ under a government which owes its very being to  
 ‘ resistance ? The honourable gentleman who first  
 ‘ mentioned it said very right, it is a scandal it  
 ‘ should remain in our statute books ; and I will say,  
 ‘ they are no friends to his Majesty or to his govern-  
 ‘ ment who desire it should ; for it destroys that  
 ‘ principle, upon which is founded one of his best  
 ‘ titles to the crown : While this remains a law, we  
 ‘ cannot well be called a free people ; a little justice  
 ‘ of the peace, assisted perhaps by a serjeant and a  
 ‘ parcel of hirelings, may almost at any time have  
 ‘ the lives of twenty gentlemen of the best families  
 ‘ in *England* in his power.

‘ As to bribery and corruption, Sir, it has been  
 ‘ so fully and so clearly demonstrated, that *septennial*  
 ‘ *Parliaments* are more liable than *triennial* to be in-  
 ‘ fluenced by such base methods, that I shall conclude  
 ‘ with observing what every gentleman I believe is  
 ‘ sensible of : It is come to a most intolerable height ;  
 ‘ in many, nay in most parts of our constitution, we  
 ‘ are sunk to the lowest and vilest dregs of corrup-  
 ‘ tion ; and if some extraordinary event do not pre-  
 ‘ vent it, our constitution will soon be irrecoverably  
 ‘ lost.’

Sir Robert  
 Walpole's  
 speech.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ I do assure  
 ‘ you, Sir, I did not intend to have troubled you in  
 ‘ this debate ; but such incidents now generally hap-  
 ‘ pen towards the end of our debates, nothing at  
 ‘ all relating to the subject, and gentlemen make such  
 ‘ suppositions, meaning some person, or perhaps, as  
 ‘ they say, no person now in being, and talk so  
 ‘ much

' much of wicked ministers, domineering ministers,  
' ministers pluming themselves in defiance; which  
' terms, and such like, have been of late so much  
' made use of in this house, that if they really mean  
' no body either in the house or out of it, yet it  
' must be supposed, they at least mean to call upon  
' some gentleman in this house to make them a re-  
' ply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to  
' draw a picture in my turn; and I may likewise say,  
' that I do not mean to give a description of any  
' particular person now in being. When gentlemen  
' talk of ministers abandoned to all sense of virtue or  
' honour, other gentlemen may, I am sure, with  
' equal justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of  
' anti-ministers and mock-patriots, who never had  
' either virtue or honour; but in the whole course of  
' their opposition, are actuated only by motives of  
' envy, and of resentment, against those who may  
' have disappointed them in their views, or may not  
' perhaps have complied with all their desires.

' But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the house  
' being cleared, I am sure no person that hears me  
' can come within the description of the person I am  
' to suppose: Let us suppose in this, or in some other  
' unfortunate country, an anti-minister, who thinks  
' himself a person of so great and extensive parts,  
' and of so many eminent qualifications, that he  
' looks upon himself as the only person in the king-  
' dom capable to conduct the public affairs of the  
' nation, and therefore christening every other gen-  
' tleman, who has the honour to be employed in the  
' administration, by the name of blunderer: Suppose  
' this fine gentleman lucky enough to have gained  
' over to his party, some persons really of fine parts,  
' of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others  
' of desperate views, arising from disappointed and  
' malicious hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect  
' to their political behaviour, moved by him, and  
' by him solely; all they say, either in private or  
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' public, being only a repetition of the words he  
 ' has put into their mouths, and a spitting out of  
 ' that venom which he had infused into them; and  
 ' yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by  
 ' any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and  
 ' hated by all the rest of mankind: We will sup-  
 ' pose this anti-minister to be in a country where he  
 ' really ought not to be, and where he could not  
 ' have been, but by an effect of too much goodness  
 ' and mercy; yet endeavouring with all his might,  
 ' and with all his art, to destroy the fountain from  
 ' whence that mercy flowed: In that country, sup-  
 ' pose him continually contracting friendships and  
 ' familiarities with the ambassadors of those princes,  
 ' who at the time happen to be most at enmity with  
 ' his own; and, if at any time it should happen to  
 ' be for the interest of any of those foreign minis-  
 ' ters to have a secret divulged to them, which might  
 ' be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well  
 ' as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister  
 ' applying to him, and he answering, I will get it  
 ' you; tell me but what you want, I will endeavour  
 ' to procure it for you: Upon this he puts a speech  
 ' or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or  
 ' some of his new converts; what he wants is moved  
 ' for in Parliament, and when so very reasonable a  
 ' request as this is refused, suppose him, and his crea-  
 ' tures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm  
 ' over the whole nation, and crying out, gentlemen,  
 ' our country is at present involved in many dange-  
 ' rous difficulties, all which we would have extricated  
 ' you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt  
 ' majority, refused us the proper materials; and upon  
 ' this scandalous victory, this minister became so in-  
 ' solent as to plume himself in defiance: Let us far-  
 ' ther suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and  
 ' at every court where he was, thinking himself the  
 ' greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray  
 ' the secrets of every court where he had before been;

void



‘ void of all faith or honour, and betraying every  
‘ master he ever served. Sir, I could carry my sup-  
‘ positions a great deal farther, and I may say, I  
‘ mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose  
‘ such a one, can there be imagined a greater dis-  
‘ grace to human nature than such a wretch as this?  
‘ Now, Sir, to be serious, and to talk really to  
‘ the subject in hand: Tho’ the question has been  
‘ already so fully and so handsomely opposed, by my  
‘ worthy friend under the gallery, by the learned  
‘ gentleman near me, and by several others, that  
‘ there is no great occasion to say any thing farther  
‘ against it; yet, as some new matter has been started  
‘ by some of the gentlemen, who have since that time  
‘ spoke upon the other side of the question, I hope  
‘ the house will indulge me the liberty of giving  
‘ some of those reasons, which induce me to be  
‘ against the motion. In general I must take notice  
‘ that the nature of our constitution seems to be very  
‘ much mistaken by the gentlemen who have spoken  
‘ in favour of this motion. It is certain, that ours  
‘ is a mixt government, and the perfection of our  
‘ constitution consists in this, that the monarchical,  
‘ aristocratical, and democratical forms of govern-  
‘ ment, are mixt and interwoven in ours, so as to  
‘ give us all the advantages of each, without subject-  
‘ ing us to the dangers and inconveniences of either.  
‘ The democratical form of government, which is  
‘ the only one I have now occasion to take notice  
‘ of, is liable to these inconveniences. That they  
‘ are generally too tedious in their coming to any  
‘ resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough  
‘ in carrying their resolutions into execution: That  
‘ they are always wavering in their resolutions, and  
‘ never steady in any of the measures they resolve  
‘ to pursue; and that they are often involved in  
‘ factions, seditions and insurrections, which exposes  
‘ them to be made the tools, if not the prey of their  
‘ neighbours: Therefore in all the regulations we

‘ make, with respect to our constitution, we are to  
 ‘ guard against running too much into that form of  
 ‘ government which is properly called democratical;  
 ‘ This was, in my opinion, the effect of the *triennial*  
 ‘ law, and will again be the effect, if ever it should  
 ‘ be restored.

‘ That *triennial* elections would make our go-  
 ‘ vernment too tedious in all their resolves, is evident;  
 ‘ because, in such case, no prudent administration  
 ‘ would ever resolve upon any measure of consequence,  
 ‘ till they had felt not only the pulse of the Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, but the pulse of the people; and the mini-  
 ‘ sters of state would always labour under this disad-  
 ‘ vantage, that, as secrets of state must not be imme-  
 ‘ diately divulged, their enemies (and enemies  
 ‘ they will always have) would have a handle for  
 ‘ exposing their measures, and rendering them dis-  
 ‘ agreeable to the people, and thereby carrying per-  
 ‘ haps a new election against them, before they could  
 ‘ have an opportunity of justifying their measures,  
 ‘ by divulging those facts and circumstances, from  
 ‘ whence the justice and the wisdom of their measures  
 ‘ would clearly appear.

‘ Then, Sir, it is by experience well known, that  
 ‘ what is called the populace of every country, are  
 ‘ apt to be too much elated with success, and too  
 ‘ much dejected with every misfortune; this makes  
 ‘ them wavering in their opinions about affairs of  
 ‘ state, and never long of the same mind; and as  
 ‘ this house is chosen by the free and unbiassed voice  
 ‘ of the people in general, if this choice were so often  
 ‘ renewed, we might expect, that this house would  
 ‘ be as wavering, and as unsteady as the people  
 ‘ usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the  
 ‘ public affairs of the nation, without the concurrence  
 ‘ of this house, the ministers would always be obliged  
 ‘ to comply, and consequently, would be obliged  
 ‘ to change their measures, as often as the people  
 ‘ changed their minds.

‘ With

‘ With *septennial Parliaments*, Sir, we are not  
‘ exposed to either of these misfortunes, because, if  
‘ the ministers, after having felt the pulse of the Par-  
‘ liament, which they can always soon do, resolve  
‘ upon any measures, they have generally time  
‘ enough before the new elections come on, to give  
‘ the people a proper information, in order to shew  
‘ them the justice and the wisdom of the measures  
‘ they have pursued ; and if the people should at  
‘ any time be too much elated, or too much de-  
‘ jected, or should without a cause change their  
‘ minds, those at the helm of affairs have time to  
‘ set them right, before a new election comes on.

‘ As to faction and sedition, Sir, I will grant, that  
‘ in monarchical and aristocratical governments, it  
‘ generally arises from violence and oppression ; but  
‘ in democratical governments, it always arises from  
‘ the people’s having too great a share in the go-  
‘ vernment ; for in all countries, and in all govern-  
‘ ments, there always will be many factious and  
‘ unquiet spirits, who can never be at rest either in  
‘ power or out of power : When in power, they are  
‘ never easy, unless every man submits intirely to  
‘ their direction, and when out of power, they are  
‘ always working and intriguing against those that  
‘ are in, without any regard to justice, or to the  
‘ interest of their country : In popular governments  
‘ such men have too much game, they have too  
‘ many opportunities for working upon and corrupt-  
‘ ing the minds of the people, in order to give them  
‘ a bad impression of, and to raise discontents against,  
‘ those that have the management of the public af-  
‘ fairs for the time ; and these discontents often  
‘ break out into seditions and insurrections. This,  
‘ Sir, would in my opinion be our misfortune, if  
‘ our Parliaments were either *annual* or *triennial* :  
‘ By such frequent elections, there would be so  
‘ much power thrown into the hands of the people,  
‘ as would destroy that equal mixture, which is the

' beauty of our constitution : In short, our govern-  
 ' ment would really become a democratical govern-  
 ' ment, and might from thence very probably di-  
 ' verge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to pre-  
 ' serve our constitution, in order to prevent our fal-  
 ' ling under tyranny and arbitrary power, we ought  
 ' to preserve that law, which I really think has  
 ' brought our constitution to a more equal mixture,  
 ' and consequently to a greater perfection than it was  
 ' ever in, before that law took place.

' As to bribery and corruption, Sir, if it were  
 ' possible to influence, by such base means, the ma-  
 ' jority of the electors of *Great Britain*, to choose such  
 ' men as would probably give up their liberties ; if it  
 ' were possible to influence, by such means, a majority  
 ' of the members of this house, to consent to the  
 ' establishment of arbitrary power, I should readily  
 ' allow, that the calculations made by the gentle-  
 ' men of the other side were just, and their inference  
 ' true ; but I am persuaded, that neither of these is  
 ' possible. As the members of this house generally  
 ' are, and must always be, gentlemen of fortune  
 ' and figure in their country ; is it possible to sup-  
 ' pose, that any of them could, by a pension, or a  
 ' post, be influenced to consent to the overthrow of  
 ' our constitution ; by which the enjoyment, not  
 ' only of what he got, but of what he before had,  
 ' would be rendered altogether precarious. I will  
 ' allow, Sir, that with respect to bribery, the price  
 ' must be higher or lower, generally in proportion  
 ' to the virtue of the man who is to be bribed ; but  
 ' it must likewise be granted, that the humour he  
 ' happens to be in at the time, the spirit he happens  
 ' to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his vir-  
 ' tue : When no encroachments are made upon the  
 ' rights of the people, when the people do not think  
 ' themselves in any danger, there may be many of  
 ' the electors, who, by a bribe of ten guineas, might  
 ' be induced to vote for one candidate rather than  
 ' another ;



‘ another ; but if the court were making any encroachments upon the rights of the people, a proper spirit would, without doubt, arise in the nation ; and, in such a case, I am persuaded, that none, or very few, even of such electors, could be induced to vote for a court candidate ; no, not for ten times the sum.

‘ There may, Sir, be some bribery and corruption in the nation ; I am afraid there will always be some ; but it is no proof of it, that strangers are sometimes chosen ; for a gentleman may have so much natural influence over a borough in his neighbourhood, as to be able to prevail with them to choose any person he pleases to recommend ; and if upon such recommendation they choose one or two of his friends, who are perhaps strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two strangers were chosen their representatives by the means of bribery and corruption.

‘ To insinuate, Sir, that money may be issued from the public treasury for bribing elections, is really something very extraordinary, especially in those gentlemen who know how many checks are upon every shilling that can be issued from thence ; and how regularly the money granted in one year for the public service of the nation, must always be accounted for, the very next session, in this house, and likewise in the other, if they have a mind to call for any such account. And as to the gentlemen in offices, if they have any advantage over country gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private fortunes, they have likewise many disadvantages : They are obliged to live here at *London* with their families, by which they are put to a much greater expence, than gentlemen of equal fortunes who live in the country : This lays them under a very great disadvantage, with respect to the supporting their interest in the country. The country gentleman, by



' living among the electors, and purchasing the ne-  
 ' cessaries for his family from them, keeps up an  
 ' acquaintance and correspondence with them, with-  
 ' out putting himself to any extraordinary charge ;  
 ' whereas a gentleman who lives in *London*, has no  
 ' other way of keeping up an acquaintance or cor-  
 ' respondence among his friends in the country, but  
 ' by going down once or twice a year at a very  
 ' extraordinary charge, and often without any o-  
 ' ther business ; so that we may conclude, a gen-  
 ' tleman in office cannot, even in seven years,  
 ' save much for distributing in ready money, at  
 ' the time of an election ; and I really believe,  
 ' if the fact were narrowly inquired into, it would  
 ' appear, that the gentlemen in office are as little  
 ' guilty of bribing their electors with ready money,  
 ' as any other set of gentlemen in the kingdom.

' That there are ferments often raised among the  
 ' people without any just cause, is what I am sur-  
 ' prised to hear controverted, since very late expe-  
 ' rience may convince us of the contrary : Do not we  
 ' know what a ferment was raised in the nation, to-  
 ' wards the latter end of the late *Queen's* reign ? And  
 ' it is well known, what a fatal change in the af-  
 ' fairs of this nation was introduced, or at least  
 ' confirmed, by an election's coming on while the  
 ' nation was in that ferment : Do not we know  
 ' what a ferment was raised in the nation, soon  
 ' after his late Majesty's accession ? And if an  
 ' election had then been allowed to come on, while  
 ' the nation was in that ferment, it might perhaps  
 ' have had as fatal effects as the former ; but, thank  
 ' God, this was wisely provided against by the very  
 ' law which is now wanted to be repealed.

' It has indeed, Sir, been said, That the chief  
 ' motive for enacting that law, now no longer  
 ' exists : I cannot admit that the motive they mean,  
 ' was the chief motive ; but even that motive is  
 ' very far from having intirely ceased, Can gentle-

men

' men imagine, that in the spirit raised in the nation  
 ' but about a twelvemonth since, *Jacobitism* and  
 ' disaffection to the present government had no  
 ' share? Perhaps some who might wish well to the  
 ' present establishment did co-operate, nay, I do  
 ' not know but they were the first movers of that  
 ' spirit; but it cannot be supposed, that the spirit  
 ' then raised should have grown up to such a fer-  
 ' ment, meerly from a proposition, which was ho-  
 ' nestly and fairly laid before Parliament, and left  
 ' intirely to their determination. No, Sir, the spi-  
 ' rit was perhaps begun by those who are truly  
 ' friends to the illustrious family we have now upon  
 ' the throne; but it was raised to a much greater  
 ' height, than, I believe, even they designed, by *Ja-*  
 ' *cobites*, and such as are enemies to our present esta-  
 ' blishment, who thought they never had a fairer  
 ' opportunity, of bringing about what they have so  
 ' long and so unsuccessfully wished for, than that  
 ' which had been furnished them by those who first  
 ' raised that spirit. I hope the people have now in  
 ' a great measure come to themselves, and therefore  
 ' I doubt not but the next elections will shew, that,  
 ' when they are left to judge coolly, they can di-  
 ' stinguish between the real and the pretended friends  
 ' to the government: But I must say, if the ferment  
 ' then raised in the nation had not already greatly  
 ' subsided, I should have thought a new election a  
 ' very dangerous experiment; and, as such ferments  
 ' may hereafter often happen, I must think that fre-  
 ' quent elections will always be dangerous; for which  
 ' reason, in so far as I can see at present, I shall, I  
 ' believe, at all times, think it a very dangerous ex-  
 ' periment to repeal the *septennial bill*.'

These were the only gentlemen who spoke in this Division  
 debate, except *Edward Harley*, Esq; and *Wil-*  
*liam Shippen*, Esq; who both spoke in favour of  
 the question, after Mr, *Cornwallis*, and before Col.  
*Bladen*;

Bladen; and Sir Edward Stanley, who spoke likewise in favour of the question, and next after him Sir William Yonge. Upon a division, the question was carried in the negative, by 247 to 184.

*As this was a question of the utmost consequence, we have subjoined a list of those who voted for and against it.*

*A complete list of the members who voted for and against the repealing the septennial Act.*

Those marked (a) spoke in the debate.

*For.*

*Against.*

*Bedfordshire.*

**C** Charles Leigh, Esq;  
Sir Jer. Vanacker  
Sambrook.

*Bedfordshire.*

Sir Rowland Alston,  
John Orlebar, Esq;

*Berks.*

Wincomb Packer, Esq;  
—— Archer, Esq;  
George Lewen, Esq;

*Berks.*

Lord Vere Beauclerc,  
*Commissioner of the Navy.*  
William Hucks, Esq;  
*Brewer to the King's  
Household,*  
Robert Hucks, Esq; *his son.*

*Bucks.*

Sir William Stanhope,  
Sir Thomas Lee,  
Henry Waller, Esq;  
Sir Charles Vernon,  
Marmaduke Allington,  
Esq;  
Thomas Lutwich, Esq;  
Lord Viscount Limerick,  
Edmund Waller, Esq;  
Sir Thomas Hobby.

*Bucks.*

Thomas Ingoldesby, Esq;

*Cambridge.*

*For.**Against.**Cambridgeshire.*

(a) Sir John Hynde-Cotton,  
Tho. Sclater Bacon, Esq;

*Cheshire.*

(a) Charles Cholmondeley, Esq;  
Sir Robert Grosvenor,  
Sir Charles Bunbury.

*Cornwall.*

(a) Sir John St. Aubin,  
Sir William Carew,  
Arthur Tremaine, Esq;  
Hugh Boscawen, Esq;  
Sidney Meadows, Esq;  
Philip Hawkins, Esq;  
Sir Cecil Bishop,  
Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;  
Sir William Morrice,  
Henry Vane, Esq;

*Cambridgeshire.*

Tho. Townshend, Esq;  
*Teller of the Exchequer.*

*Cheshire.**Cornwall.*

Thomas Clutterbuck,  
Esq; *Commissioner of the Admiralty,*  
Colonel Cope, *Colonel of a Regiment,*  
Edward Walpole, Esq;  
*Joint Secretary of the Treasury, and Collector inward of the Customs,*  
Sir John Heathcote,  
John Evelyn, Esq; *Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince,*

John Harris, Esq;  
Lord Glenorchy,  
— Corbet, Esq; *Under-secretary of the Admiralty,*

Thomas Hales, Esq; *Clerk of the Green-cloth.*

(a) John Willes, Esq; *Attorney-General,*

Thomas Walker, Esq;  
*Surveyor general of his Majesty's land revenues,*  
Isaac Leheup, Esq;

*Cumber-*

Charles Longueville, Esq;  
*Auditor to the Queen,*  
 Matthew Ducie Moreton,  
 Esq;  
 John Goddard, Esq; *Com-*  
*missioner to settle the*  
*Merchants Losses by the*  
*Spaniards,*  
 John Hedges, Esq; *Trea-*  
*surer to the Prince,*  
 Major Cholmondeley,  
 Esq; *Governor of Che-*  
*ster Castle,*  
 Sir Robert Rich, *Colonel of*  
*Horse, and Groom of the*  
*Bed-chamber to the King,*  
 Henry Knollys, Esq;  
 Richard Elliot, Esq; *Au-*  
*ditor to the Prince,*  
 Dudley Ryder, Esq; *So-*  
*licitor-general,*  
 Henry Kelsal, Esq; *Clerk*  
*of the Treasury,*  
 Thomas Farrington, Esq;  
*Receiver of the Revenues*  
*in Wales,*  
 Thomas Herbert, Esq;  
 William East, Esq;  
 Thomas Copleston, Esq;  
*a Place in Ireland.*

*Cumberland.*

John Hilton, Esq;

*Derbyshire.*

Lord James Cavendish.

Charles Stanhope, Esq;

*Cumberland.*

Colonel Howard, *Colonel*  
*of the Guards.*

*Derbyshire.*

*Devon-*



For.

Against.

*Devonshire.*

Sir William Courtney,  
 Henry Rolle, Esq;  
 Francis Drew, Esq;  
 Theophilus Fortescue,  
 Esq;  
 John Fuller, Esq;  
 Sir Humphrey Monoux,  
 Richard Reynell, Esq;  
 Richard Coffin, Esq;

*Dorsetshire.*

George Chaffin, Esq;  
 Edmund Moreton Pley-  
 dell, Esq;  
 John Brown, Esq;  
 Sir Edward Desbouverie,  
 John Banks, Esq;

*Devonshire.*

Sir Charles Wills, *Colonel  
 of the Guards, and Lieu-  
 tenant-General of the  
 Ordnance,*  
 Sir Henry Gough,  
 Robert Byng, Esq; *Com-  
 missioner of the Navy,*  
 Arthur Stert, Esq; *Com-  
 missioner to settle the  
 Merchants Losses by the  
 Spaniards,*  
 Richard Edgcomb, Esq;  
*Vice-treasurer of Ireland,*  
 (a) Sir William Yonge,  
*Commissioner of the Trea-  
 sury,*  
 George Treby, Esq; *Ma-  
 ster of the Household,*  
 Sir Archer Croft, *Com-  
 missioner of Trade,*  
 Colonel Morden,  
 Sir Francis Drake.

*Dorsetshire.*

George Trenchard, Esq;  
 Thomas Windham, Esq;  
 Holt Henley, Esq; *Clerk  
 of the Pipe,*  
 Thomas Pearse, *Commis-  
 sioner of the Navy,*  
 George Doddington, Esq;  
 John Jewkes, Esq;  
 William Bowles, Esq;  
 Stephen Fox, Esq;  
 Nathaniel Gould, Esq;  
 John Bond, Esq;  
 Edward Tucker, Esq;

*Durham.*

*For.**Against.**Durham.*

George Bowes, Esq;  
Robert Shaftoe, Esq;

*Essex.*

Sir Robert Abdy,  
Thomas Bramston, Esq;

*Gloucestershire.*

Benjamin Bathurst, Esq;  
Thomas Master, Esq;  
Peter Bathurst, Esq;

*Herefordshire.*

(a) Edward Harley, Esq;  
Velters Cornwall, Esq;  
Thomas Winford, Esq;  
Lord Bateman.

*Hertfordshire.*

Sir Thomas Scabright,  
Charles Cæsar, Esq;  
John Merril, Esq;

*Huntingtonshire.*

John Bigg, Esq;  
Edward Wortley, Esq;

*Kent.*

Sir Roger Meredith,  
Sir Edward Deering,  
John Finch, Esq;

*Durham.**Essex.*

Stamp Brooksbank, Esq;  
Samuel Tufnel, Esq;  
*Commissioner for settling  
commerce,*

Henry Parsons, Esq; *Com-  
missioner of the Victual-  
ing,*

Lord Egmont,  
Sir Philip Parker.

*Gloucestershire.*

Colonel Berkeley,  
Sir J. Dutton,  
Charles Selwin, Esq; *E-  
querry to the Queen,*  
George Read, Esq; *Ma-  
jor of the Guards,*

*Herefordshire.*

Lord Carnarvon, *Lord of  
the Bed-chamber to the  
Prince,*

Sir George Caswall,  
Uvedal Price, Esq;

*Hertfordshire.*

Lord Grimstone,  
Sir Thomas Clark,  
George Harrison, Esq;

*Huntingtonshire.*

Robert Pigott, Esq;

*Kent.*

Sir John Jennings, *Go-  
vernor of Greenwich  
Hospital,*

*Lanca-*

For.

Against.

Thomas Hope, Esq;  
 Sir George Saunders, *Com-  
 missioner of the Admi-  
 rally,*  
 Richard Evans, Esq; *De-  
 puty-governor of Sheer-  
 nefs, and Captain of  
 Dragoons.*

*Lancashire.**Lancashire.*

(a) Sir Edward Stanley, Christopher Towers, Esq;  
 Richard Shuttleworth, *Reversionary Auditor of  
 Esq; the Imprests,*  
 Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq; Sir Roger Bradshaigh,  
 Sir Thomas Lowther, Lord Galway,  
 (a) William Shippen, Esq; Sir Harry Houghton.  
 Legh Master, Esq;  
 Peter Bold, Esq;  
 Thomas Lister, Esq;  
 Sir Thomas Alton.

*Leicestershire.**Leicestershire.*

Ambrose Philips, Esq; Lord William Manners,  
 Sir George Beaumont, *Lord of the Bed-cham-  
 George Wright, Esq; ber to the King.*

*Lincolnshire.**Lincolnshire.*

Sir Thomas Saunderfon, George Monson, Esq;  
 Robert Viner, Esq;  
 Charles Hall, Esq;  
 Lord Colerain,  
 John Page, Esq;  
 Robert Shirley, Esq;  
 Sir Michael Newton.

*Middlesex.**Middlesex.*

Sir Francis Child, William Clayton, Esq;  
 (a) Sir John Barnard, *Commissioner of the Trea-  
 Micajah Perry, Esq; sury.*  
 Humphry Parsons, Esq; Sir John Eyles.

Mor.

*Monmouthshire.*

(a) Lord Noel Somerfet.

*Norfolk.*

Sir Edmund Bacon.

*Monmouthshire.**Norfolk.*

Walter Bacon, Esq;

(a) Sir Robert Walpole,  
*Chancellor of the Ex-  
chequer, and LORD of  
the Treasury,*Sir Charles Turner, *Teller  
of the Exchequer,*William Townshend,  
Esq; *Groom of the Bed-  
chamber to the Prince,*Horatio Walpole, Esq;  
*Cofferer,*Sir Edmund Bacon, *who  
bath a grant of crown-  
lands at Chatham,*Charles Fitzroy, Esq;  
*Cornet and Master of the  
Tennis-court,*Charles Churchill, Esq;  
*Colonel of Dragoons, and  
Governor of Plymouth.**Northamptonshire.*

Sir Justinian Isham,

Thomas Cartwright, Esq;

Jo. Banks, Esq;

Armistead Parker, Esq;

George Compton, Esq;

Dr. Lee,

John Fynch, Esq;

*Northumberland.*

Ralph Jenifon, Esq;

Nicholas Fenwick, Esq;

Lord Morpeth.

*Northamptonshire.*Colonel Montagu, *Colonel  
of a Regiment, and Go-  
vernor of Hull.**Northumberland.*

Sir William Middleton,

William Carr, Esq;

(a) Sir Thomas Robinson,  
George Liddel, Esq;*Not.*

For.

Against.

*Nottinghamshire.*

William Levinz, Esq;

*Nottinghamshire.*

Thomas Bennet, Esq;

Sir Robert Clifton,

John White, Esq;

Brigadier Sutton, *Governor*  
*of Guernsey,*James Pelham, Esq; *Secretary to the Prince, and to the Lord Chamberlain.**Oxon.**Oxon.*

Sir William Stapleton,

Henry Perrot, Esq;

Lord Cornbury, Esq;

George Clark, Esq;

Thomas Rowney, Esq;

John Spencer, Esq;

*Rutlandshire.**Rutlandshire.*

William Burton, Esq;

Thomas Noel, Esq;

*Salop.**Salop.*

John Walcot, Esq;

William Lacon Child,

Esq;

Sir John Astley,

Richard Lyfter, Esq;

Sir John Charleton.

Henry Arthur Herbert,  
Esq;Samuel Edwards, Esq; *Under-Teller of the Excheq.*

Robert Moore, Esq;

John Plumbtree, Esq;  
*Treasurer of the Ordnance.**Somersetshire.**Somersetshire.*

(a) Sir William Windham,

Thomas Horner, Esq;

Robert Gay, Esq;

Thomas Edwards, Esq;

Thomas Palmer, Esq;

Alexander Lutterel, Esq;

Thomas Crisp, Esq;

Michael Hervey, Esq;

John Scrope, Esq; *Secretary of the Treasury,*General Wade, *Governor*  
*of Fort William,*

William Peers, Esq;

George Speke, Esq;

George Doddington, Esq;

*Commissioner of the Treasury.*

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South-



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Anthony Henley, Esq;  
Joseph Taylor, Esq;  
John Chetwynd, Esq;  
Sir John Barrington,  
William Powlet, Esq;

Francis Whitworth, Esq;  
*Surveyor of his Majesty's  
woods.*

Charles Locker, Esq;  
Thomas Medlicot, Esq;  
*Commissioner of the Re-  
venues in Ireland.*

*Southampton.*

Lord Harry Powlet, *Com-  
missioner of the Admi-  
rality,*

Sir John Cope,  
Norton Powlet, Esq;  
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Sir Charles Wager, *Com-  
missioner of the Admiral-  
ty,*

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Maurice Bockland, Esq;  
George Huxley, Esq; *Mu-  
ster-master-general,*

(a) Martin Bladen, Esq;  
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of Horse-grenadiers.*

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tain of Dragoons,*

Joseph Hinxman, Esq;  
*Woodward of New-forest,*

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*Master of the Mint.*

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surer to the Queen,*

James Brudenell, Esq; *Com-  
missioner of Trade, and  
Groom of the Bed-chamber.  
Staffordshire.*

Willi  
Esq

Sir W

Georg

Esq

Lord

Josep

Bapti

Esq

John

Lord

Sir R

Sir J

Philip

Thom

Willi

Robe

Sir J

Thom

Thom

Ja. C

Willi

*For.**Against.**Staffordshire.**Staffordshire.*

William Levison Gower, Richard Plummer, Esq;  
Esq;

Sir Walter Baggot,  
George Venables Vernon,  
Esq;

Lord Chetwynd,  
Joseph Nightingale, Esq;  
Baptist Levison Gower,  
Esq;

John Ward, Esq;  
Lord Inchequin.

*Suffolk.**Suffolk.*

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Sir Jermyn Davers,  
Philip Broke, Esq;  
Thomas Wyndham, Esq;  
William Acton, Esq;  
Robert Kemp, Esq;  
Sir John Williams.

William Wollaston, Esq;  
Sir George Downing,  
Captain Purvis,  
—— Jackson, Esq;  
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Colonel Cornwallis,  
(a) John Cornwallis, Esq;  
*Equerry to the Prince,*  
Thomas Hervey, Esq; *E-*  
*querry to his Majesty,*  
Thomas Norton, Esq;  
*Lieutenant-governor of*  
*Christ's-hospital.*

*Surrey.**Surrey.*

Thomas Scawen, Esq;  
Thomas Inwen, Esq;  
Ja. Cocks, Esq;  
William Newland, Esq;

Sir Joseph Eyles,  
Sir Orlando Bridgeman,  
*Commissioner of Trade,*  
Sir William Clayton,  
Colonel Onslow,  
Henry Vincent, Esq;  
Paul Docminique, Esq;  
*Commissioner of Trade.*

*Suffex.*

Samuel Ongley, Esq;  
 Lord Vane.

*Suffex.*

(a) Henry Pelham, Esq;  
*Paymaster of the Army,*  
 James Butler, Esq;  
 James Lumley, Esq;  
 Henry Ingram, Esq;  
*Commissioner of the Stores*  
*at Gibraltar.*  
 Charles Eversfield, Esq;  
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 Thomas Pelham, Esq; of  
 Lewes,  
 Thomas Pelham, Esq; of  
 Stanmer,  
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 Joseph Danvers, Esq;  
 Thomas Bladen, Esq;  
 Lord Shannon, *Captain of*  
*a Troop of Guards,*  
*Warwickshire.*  
 Sir Adolphus Oughton.

*Warwickshire.*

Edward Digby, Esq;  
 Sir Charles Mordaunt,  
 Sir William Keyte,  
 (a) William Bromley, Esq;

*Westmoreland.*

(a) Walter Plummer, Esq;

*Westmoreland.*

Anthony Lowther, Esq;  
 Daniel Wilson, Esq;  
 John Ramsden, Esq;

*Wiltshire.*

John Ivory Talbot, Esq;  
 John How, Esq;  
 (a) George Heathcote,  
 Esq;  
 Francis Annesly, Esq;  
 Francis Seymour, Esq;  
 Thomas Harrison, Esq;

*Wiltshire.*

Thomas Lewis, Esq;  
 Robert Herbert, Esq;  
*Commissioner in Ireland,*  
 Thomas Martin, Esq;  
 Townshend Andrews,  
 Esq; *Deputy Pay-mas-*  
*ter,*

*For.**Against.*

Edward Lisle, Esq;

Horatio Townshend, Esq;

Edward Ashe, Esq; *Com-*  
*missioner of Trade,*William Duckett, Esq;  
*Major of the Horse Gre-*  
*nadiers,*

William Wardour, Esq;

Francis Eyles, Esq; *Cap-*  
*tain in the army,*

Gabriel Roberts, Esq;

Giles Earle, Esq; *Clerk of*  
*the Green-cloth.*Rawlinson Earle, Esq;  
*Clerk of the Ordnance,*Christopher Tilson, Esq;  
*Clerk of the Treasury,*Sir Thomas Read, *Clerk*  
*of the Green-cloth,*William Sloper, Esq;  
*Deputy Cofferer,*

Mathew St. Quintin, Esq;

John St. John, Esq;

John Cross, Esq;

Thomas Gibson, Esq;

*Worcestershire.**Worcestershire.*

Samuel Sandys, Esq;

Sir R. Lane.

Edward Foley, Esq;

Tho. Winnington, Esq;

Sir John Rushout.

*Commissioner to the Ad-*  
*miralty,*

John Rudge, Esq;

Crew Offley, Esq; *Gen-*  
*tleman of the Privy-*  
*chamber.**Yorkshire.**Yorkshire.*

Sir Henry Slingsby,

Sir George Savile,

William Aislaby, Esq;

Cholmondeley Turner,

John Yorke, Esq;

Esq;

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(a) William

- (a) William Pulteney, Esq;  
 Sir William Milner,  
 Edward Thompson, Esq;  
*Commissioner of the Vic-  
 tualling,*  
 ——— Maister, Esq;  
 George Crowle, Esq; *Com-  
 missioner of the Victual-  
 ling,*  
 Richard Arundel, Esq;  
*Surveyor-general of the  
 Works,*  
 William Thompson, Esq;  
 Sir Conyers Darcy, *Comp-  
 troller of the Household,*  
 Colonel Pulteney, *Equerry  
 to the King,*  
 James Tyrrel, Esq; *Colo-  
 nel of a Regiment,*  
 George Gregory, Esq;  
*Store-keeper of the Ord-  
 nance,*  
 Henry Finch, Esq;  
 Sir William Wentworth,  
 Sir Thomas Frankland,  
*Commissioner of the Ad-  
 miralty,*  
 Charles Stanhope, Esq;  
 William Jessop, Esq;  
*Puisne Judge of Chester,*  
 Sir Charles Hotham, *Col.  
 of a Regiment and Groom  
 of the Bed-chamber,*  
 Leonard Smelt, Esq; *Clerk  
 of the Ordnance,*  
 Henry Pierce, Esq;  
 (a) Sir William Lowther,  
 Colonel Mordaunt.

*Cinque*



*For.**Against.**Cinque Ports.*

George Berkely, Esq;  
 Henry Furnese, Esq;  
 Philip Gybbon, Esq;

*Wales.*

Lord Bulkeley,  
 William Gwyn Vaughan,  
 Esq;  
 Richard Lloyd, Esq;  
 (a) Watkin Williams  
 Wynn, Esq;  
 John Myddleton, Esq;  
 Sir Roger Mostyn,  
 Bussay Mansel, Esq;  
 Price Devereux, Esq;  
 Erasmus Philips, Esq;

*Scotland.*

John Cockburne, Esq;  
 Robert Dundas, Esq;  
 Thomas Erskine, Esq;  
*Captain in the Army,*  
 Sir George Mackenzie,  
 Sir James Dalrymple,  
 Captain Dalrymple,  
 Colonel Dalrymple,  
 William Duff, Esq;

*Cinque Ports.*

Thomas Pelham, Esq;  
 Josiah Burchet, Esq; *Se-*  
*cretary to the Admiralty,*  
 William Glanville, Esq;  
 Captain Hercules Baker,  
 Robert Bristow, Esq; *Clerk*  
*of the Green-cloth,*  
 Peter Walter, Esq;  
 Sir William Gage,  
 — Hay, Esq;

*Wales.*

Hugh Williams, Esq;  
 Lord Lisburne,  
 Sir Nicholas Williams,  
 Arthur Bevan, Esq;  
 Captain John Griffith,  
 Thomas Wynne, Esq;  
*Clerk of the Green-cloth,*  
 Salusbury Lloyd, Esq;  
 John Campbell, Esq;  
 William Owen, Esq;  
 Sir Humphry Howarth,  
 Thomas Lewis, Esq; *Clerk*  
*of the Bills of the Cus-*  
*toms.*

*Scotland.*

Sir James Campbell,  
 Colonel John Campbell,  
 Charles Ereskine, Esq; *So-*  
*licitor-general for Scot-*  
*land,*  
 Alexander Brodie, Esq;  
*Lyon King at Arms,*  
 Sir James Grant,  
 Colonel J. Scot,

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John

John Murray, Esq;  
 Sir John Bruce,

Lord Archibald Hamilton, *Commissioner of the Admiralty,*  
 Alex. Hamilton, Esq;  
 Robert Douglas, Esq;  
 James Rutherford, Esq;  
 Henry Cunningham, Esq;  
*Commissary of the Must-  
 ers in Scotland.*  
 Sir J. Ferguson,  
 Colonel Middleton,  
 William Steuart, Esq;  
*Paymaster of the Pen-  
 sions,*  
 Colonel Anstruther, *De-  
 puty Governor of Mi-  
 norca,*  
 Major Sinclair,  
 Peter Campbell, Esq;  
 John Drummond, Esq;  
*Commissary for settling  
 Commerce,*  
 Duncan Forbes, Esq; *Ad-  
 vocate of Scotland,*  
 Daniel Campbell, Esq;  
 Sir Robert Monro,  
 Sir J. Nafemith.

TELLERS.

Sir John St. Aubin,      Sir William Yonge,  
 William Bromley, Esq;      Sir Thomas Robinson.

On

ON Monday the 18th day of *March*, the house of Commons came to the following resolutions, and made the following orders, *viz.*

*Resolved*, Nem. Con.

‘ That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to congratulate his Majesty on the happy nuptials of the Princess Royal and his Highness the Prince of *Orange*.’

*Ordered*,

‘ That the said address be presented to his Majesty by such members of this house as are of his Majesty’s most hon. privy council.’

*Resolved*, Nem. Con.

‘ That this house do congratulate her Majesty on these happy nuptials.’

*Ordered*,

‘ That the Lord *William Manners*, Mr. *Bromley* of *Cambridgeshire*, Sir *William Yonge*, Sir *John Rusbout*, Sir *Edward Stanley*, Mr. *Clutterbuck*, Sir *George Savile*, Sir *William Clayton*, Sir *John Heathcote*, Mr. *Lewis* of *Soberton*, Mr. *Duncombe*, and Sir *James Campbell* do attend her Majesty with this congratulation.’

*Resolved*, Nem. Con.

‘ That a congratulatory message be sent to the Princess Royal, and his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, on this happy occasion.’

*Ordered*,

‘ That the Lord *Charles Cavendish*, Mr. *King*, Sir *Thomas Saunderson*, Mr. *Lowther*, Mr. *Trenchard*, Mr. *Edward Walpole*, Mr. *Sandy’s*, Mr. *Winnington*, Mr. *Vincent*, and Mr. *Spoke*, do  
‘ attend

‘ attend the Princefs Royal and his Highness the  
 ‘ Prince of *Orange* with the said message.

*Ordered, Nem. Con.*

‘ That a bill be brought in for exhibiting a bill in  
 ‘ this present Parliament, for naturalizing his High-  
 ‘ ness the Prince of *Orange*; and that Mr. *Pulteney*,  
 ‘ Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Sandys*, Sir *William Yonge*, Mr.  
 ‘ *Trenchard*, Mr. *Gibbon*, and Colonel *Mordaunt* do  
 ‘ prepare and bring in the same.’

The house of Lords came likewise to the same sort of resolutions, with respect to the congratulations upon this occasion.

The bill for exhibiting a bill for naturalizing the Prince of *Orange* was brought in and passed next day in the house of Commons, and was ordered to be carried to the Lords for their concurrence, where it was likewise passed, and returned to the house of Commons on *Wednesday* the 20th: And

On the 21st his Majesty came to the house of Peers, and gave the royal assent to it, and some other bills.

The same day a bill was brought down from the Lords, intituled, *An act for naturalizing the most serene Prince William Charles Henry Friso, Prince of Orange and Nassau*, which was that evening three times read by the Commons, and passed *Nemine Contradicente*.

ON *Thursday* the 28th of *March*, his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, one of his Majesty’s principal secretaries of state, acquainted the house of Lords, that he had a message from his Majesty to that house, signed by his Majesty, which he presented to the house, and the same, being read by the Lord Chancellor, was to the effect following, viz.

‘ That

‘ That as the war which had broke out in *Europe*, His Majesty’s unhappily continued, his Majesty had nothing more at heart, than to see that flame extinguished, and message to the house of Lords. to avoid, if possible, the engaging his subjects in the hazards and expence of a war; being at the same time desirous, neither to give any just alarm to other nations, nor to subject himself to any unprovoked insults.

‘ That to the end his Majesty’s endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, for procuring an accommodation, might in due time have the desired effect; and that his Majesty might be in a condition to make good such engagements as honour, justice and prudence, might call upon him to fulfil and contract; and that his kingdoms might not be left exposed to any desperate attempts, during such time, as it might be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate advice and assistance of his great council, upon any emergency arising from the present posture of affairs in *Europe*, which might nearly concern the interest and safety of these kingdoms; his Majesty hoped that he should be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such farther augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as might be absolutely necessary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms, and in concerting such measures as the exigency of affairs might require.

‘ That whatever expence should be thereby occasioned, should be made in as frugal a manner as was possible, and that an account thereof should be laid before the next Parliament.’

This message the house resolved to take into consideration next day; and accordingly the next day, being *Friday* the 29th, the house proceeded to take the same into consideration; and the Duke of *Newcastle* stood up and spoke as follows, viz.

I

‘ My



Duke of  
Newcastle  
his speech.

‘ My Lords, as his Majesty has been always careful not to put his people to any greater expence, than what was absolutely necessary for their own safety, so in the beginning of this session of Parliament he asked for no greater augmentation, either of land or sea forces, than what he thought was necessary for the defence of this nation; and after the most mature deliberation, his Majesty’s demands upon that occasion, were thought so just and reasonable, that they were agreed to by both houses of Parliament.

‘ There was then, my Lords, a war broke out in *Europe*, which made it necessary for us to make some little addition to our naval force at home, and to the garrisons of our fortified places abroad; but as we did not stand obliged by any former engagement, to take any share in that war, therefore the expence we have as yet put ourselves to, upon that occasion, is but very inconsiderable; as his Majesty has not yet engaged himself upon either side of the question, as there has not since any alteration happened, with respect to the circumstances of *Great Britain* in particular, so his Majesty does not think it necessary for us to put ourselves immediately to any greater expence than what was then judged to be necessary; but as the fate of war is very uncertain, and as the liberties of *Europe* very much depend upon the event of the present war, therefore it is impossible to foresee, but that his Majesty may be obliged to take some share in the war, in order to preserve the balance of power, on which depend the liberties of *Europe*, and consequently, the liberties of this kingdom.

‘ If then, my Lords, upon any future and sudden emergency, his Majesty should find himself under a necessity of immediately joining either one side or the other, we may most certainly expect, that those he joins against will endeavour to insult or invade this nation, especially if they know that we

are

are no way prepared for our defence: Nay, I do not know but that our continuing neutral may oblige both sides; and if either can expect to engage this nation in their favour, by producing a change in our government, they will probably, for that purpose, attempt to invade us, if they should be encouraged to make such an attempt, by our present government's not being in a proper condition to resist them. There is not indeed any occasion at present to fear such attempts; there is not the least appearance that any of the powers now engaged in war, will attempt to offer us any insult; but as the politics and resolutions of foreign courts are not to be depended upon, as no person can pretend to foresee every thing that may happen, his Majesty is willing to have it is his power to provide in time against the worst; and I think we are in duty bound to enable him to do so; therefore I hope your Lordships will agree to the motion I am to make, which is, That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, declaring our duty and fidelity to him, and the intire confidence we repose in his royal care and wisdom, and in his endeavours for the security of his kingdoms, and for restoring the peace of *Europe*; to express the just sense we have of his Majesty's attention to the true interest of his people, in previously taking the advice of this house, in order to make the necessary provisions against any emergencies arising from the present posture of affairs in *Europe*, especially during the interval of Parliament; to desire his Majesty to make such augmentation of his forces by sea or land, as his Majesty shall judge necessary, and to concert such measures as the exigency of affairs shall require; and to assure his Majesty, that this house will not be wanting in their duty, in effectually enabling his Majesty to make good all the extraordinary expence that may be incurred; and to fulfil all the engagements that may be entered

‘ entered into by his Majesty, for the honour, interest and defence of his kingdoms.’

Lord Carteret's  
speech.

Lord Carteret. ‘ My Lords, as no sort of information has been given to this house about the present state of our foreign affairs, or about the engagements we now lie under, with respect to all or any of the powers engaged in war ; as every thing tending to give us such information has been denied, it cannot be expected that I, or any other Lord, who has not had the honour to be admitted into that secret, should speak so fully to the present question, as we might otherwise have done. As for myself, I think I cannot speak properly to it, in any other way, than as it relates to our own constitution, and in that light I cannot but be against it ; for it must be admitted, that the demand now made upon us, is a demand of very extraordinary nature ; it is such a demand, as ought never to be complied with, but when the nation is in the most imminent danger ; and even in such a case, the reasons for apprehending such a danger ought to be communicated to this house in a regular manner, before we can either in honour or duty comply with it.

‘ It has always, my Lords, been admitted, that speeches from the throne are to be looked on as speeches from the ministers of state : Upon this footing it is that this house has always, with a great deal of freedom, taken such speeches into their consideration ; and I must be of opinion that messages from his Majesty to this house, are to be looked on in the same manner ; for which reason I hope, the duty or the respect we owe to his Majesty, will not be mentioned in the present debate. No man can be more ready than I am to grant every thing to his Majesty, that shall appear to be necessary for the support of his crown and dignity ; but whatever is to be granted for that purpose,

‘ ought

‘ ought to be granted in a regular manner, and according to those methods and forms which our ancestors have laid down for the preservation of our constitution ; and even in that way, it is inconsistent with the honour and dignity of this house, to make any such grant upon a meer suggestion from the ministers that it is necessary. No, my Lords, the reasons, the causes of that necessity ought to be laid before the house, and then every Lord in this house may depend upon his own judgment ; whereas he who agrees to such a grant without any such information, cannot be said to depend upon his own judgment, but upon that of the ministers for the time being.

‘ I am, my Lords, sincerely of opinion, that the nation ought to be put in a much better state of defence : It is what ought to have been done before now ; but why was not this proposed at the beginning of the session ? Is there any thing has happened since that time, which can alter any man’s opinion in this respect, or can make him believe, that it is now become more necessary than it was at that time ? If any such proposition had then been made, both houses of Parliament would have had time to have taken the state of the nation, with respect both to our foreign and domestic affairs, into their consideration, and might easily have provided in a regular and usual manner for putting the nation into a proper state of defence ; but the neglecting to make any such proposition at that time, and the bringing it in now by way of surprise upon us, when it cannot be so much as pretended, that we have any thing now to apprehend, which we ought not then to have apprehended, really seems as if some gentlemen were afraid, lest we should resolve to examine narrowly into the present state and condition of our affairs ; and this, I think, ought to be a reason, rather for our refusing, than  
‘ for



‘ for our agreeing to any such irregular and precipitate resolution as is now proposed to us.

‘ But my Lords, suppose that it was not then necessary to put the nation into a better state of defence than what was at that time proposed ; suppose that it is not even now necessary to make any new addition to our forces, either by sea or land, but that the same may become necessary in a little time ; why may we not provide for such an accident, according to the regular course of proceeding in Parliament ? What necessity is there for putting so speedy an end to this session of Parliament ? Why may we not take time to bring in a bill, for doing whatever shall appear to be necessary for providing against any such emergency ? By such a method of proceeding, both houses will have time to call for and examine such things, as may be necessary for giving them an insight into our circumstances both abroad and at home : And if from such an inquiry, it shall appear absolutely necessary to give his Majesty the ample and unlimited power now demanded, is it to be supposed, that any Lord in this house, or any member of the other, will be more averse to the granting of such a power, when the necessity for doing so is made appear to him, than he was before that necessity was made apparent, or indeed any the least reason for it assigned ?

‘ I will grant, my Lords, that the fate of war is uncertain ; I will likewise grant, that the event of the present war is of the utmost consequence to the liberties of *Europe*, and consequently to this nation : But his Majesty has told us, that he is not engaged as yet to take any share in the war : Suppose then that this Parliament were dissolved, and a new one summoned ; that new Parliament may meet in two months time, and in that time it is impossible that any emergency can happen, of such consequence as to oblige his Majesty immediately to join either of the parties now engaged in the

‘ war,



‘ war. The balance of power in *Europe* may be  
‘ overturned, but it cannot be so suddenly overturned,  
‘ as not to give his Majesty an opportunity of having  
‘ the advice and assistance of a new Parliament,  
‘ before he declares himself of either side of the  
‘ question : In which case that new Parliament may,  
‘ and certainly will provide both for the safety and  
‘ honour of this nation, in that proper and regular  
‘ method which ought to be observed by every  
‘ Parliament.

‘ The safety and defence of the nation is always  
‘ to be provided for ; but as there is at present no  
‘ necessity for doing it in any extraordinary manner,  
‘ do not, my Lords, let us do it in the unpre-  
‘ cedented manner now proposed. Our agreeing to  
‘ this proposition, would, in my opinion, my Lords,  
‘ be a most certain prelude to slavery : It would be  
‘ a giving up of all our liberties at once ; it would be  
‘ a putting an absolute power into the hands of the  
‘ crown, to continue ’till next session of Parliament,  
‘ which would be a most dangerous precedent ; for  
‘ as such are generally improved, it may soon after  
‘ be granted for a longer term, and so may at last  
‘ be made perpetual. I call it, my Lords, an ab-  
‘ solute power, because we not only give a power of  
‘ raising forces both by sea and land, without limi-  
‘ tation, but we give an unlimited credit for borrow-  
‘ ing money, and we promise to make good what-  
‘ ever shall be so borrowed. I hope your Lordships  
‘ will consider, That the liberties of this nation do  
‘ not so much depend upon our charters or our  
‘ statute books, as upon that of the people’s keeping  
‘ the Purse in their own hands ; and if once the people  
‘ should be brought into the way of giving an-  
‘ ticipated promises, they may at last be induced to  
‘ give the purse intirely out of their hands, which  
‘ would put an end to all our liberties at once.

‘ It has always been reckoned, my Lords, one of  
‘ the chief safeguards of our constitution, that the  
‘ King cannot raise and keep up a standing army in  
‘ time of peace, without the consent of Parliament ;  
‘ but if the Parliament should once come into the  
‘ way of granting, from time to time, an unlimited  
‘ power to raise and keep up what number of forces,  
‘ by sea or land, the ministers for the time being  
‘ may think proper, I would be glad to know what  
‘ use this limitation upon the crown can be of, with  
‘ respect to our constitution ? And if, by means of  
‘ such a power, our constitution should ever be over-  
‘ turned, would not the Parliament, which had  
‘ granted it, be justly deemed the betrayers of those  
‘ who had trusted their All to them ? We have not,  
‘ thank God, my Lords, any thing to fear from any  
‘ power that may be granted to his present Ma-  
‘ jesty ; but if such a precedent should be made, and  
‘ in any future reign a set of men should be at the  
‘ head of the administration, who had disoblged the  
‘ whole nation, who had reason to fear that such a  
‘ new Parliament would be chosen as would call them  
‘ to an account ; would not they, in pursuance of  
‘ this precedent, endeavour to get such a power as  
‘ this from the last session of the expiring Parliament ?  
‘ They would then let the new elections go on, they  
‘ would use all means and methods to corrupt and  
‘ influence them ; but if after all they should see such  
‘ a new Parliament chosen as would call them to an  
‘ account, and punish them for their wickedness,  
‘ what then can we suppose they would do ? Would  
‘ not they make use of the power so treacherously  
‘ granted to them, and raise such an army as  
‘ might enable them to govern without any Parlia-  
‘ ment at all ? so that I must look upon the propo-  
‘ sition now before us, as laying a foundation for  
‘ some future administration to trample upon our  
‘ constitution, by the power of an army, whenever  
‘ they

‘ they shall find they cannot trample upon it by the  
‘ power of bribery and corruption.

‘ Besides, my Lords, I do not think that what is  
‘ now proposed is legal : I do not really think that  
‘ any thing can be legally done in pursuance of it,  
‘ if it should be agreed to ; for it is certain that no  
‘ forces can be raised or kept up in this nation in  
‘ time of peace, but by consent of Parliament ; and  
‘ the only proper way of obtaining that consent, al-  
‘ ways was supposed to be by act of Parliament.  
‘ We have already, my Lords, passed the mutiny-  
‘ bill ; and if any new forces should be raised in  
‘ pursuance of this resolution, I do not know if they  
‘ could be comprehended under that law ; for as  
‘ a certain number is thereby limited, if any more  
‘ should be raised, I doubt much if they could,  
‘ without a new act of Parliament, be subjected to  
‘ the martial law.

‘ I have said, my Lords, that the proposition  
‘ now before us, is a most unprecedented method  
‘ of providing for the defence of the nation : It is  
‘ so ; it is a method which was never before practised.  
‘ In all former times, when this nation has been  
‘ threatened with any great and imminent danger,  
‘ which made it necessary that some extraordinary  
‘ steps should be taken, if it happened in time of  
‘ Parliament, the King always came or sent to Par-  
‘ liament, and not only told us we were in danger,  
‘ but how we were in danger, that from thence we  
‘ might judge whether the danger was so imminent  
‘ as to make some extraordinary step necessary ; and  
‘ when it was judged so, proper measures have al-  
‘ ways thereupon been immediately concerted for  
‘ obviating that danger ; but now it seems, my  
‘ Lords, we are to agree to a most extraordinary  
‘ measure, without any reason assigned, without so  
‘ much as a pretence that we are in any imminent  
‘ danger ; nay, we are even told that that we are not  
‘ in any imminent danger ; we are told that we are

‘ not at present in danger of any insults or invasions  
 ‘ from abroad, and I am sure we are not in danger  
 ‘ of any insurrections at home, unless they should be  
 ‘ occasioned by our agreeing to this proposition:  
 ‘ Therefore, my Lords, as no reason has been  
 ‘ assigned, as I see no reason for our coming into  
 ‘ any extraordinary measure at present, I cannot but  
 ‘ be against the motion.

Duke of  
*Argyle's*  
 speech.

The Duke of *Argyle*. ‘ I have, my Lords, con-  
 ‘ sidered the motion now before us with all possible  
 ‘ attention, and I cannot see that there is any thing  
 ‘ in it, or in the motion the noble Duke has been  
 ‘ pleased to make us, so very extraordinary or un-  
 ‘ precedented, as the noble Lord has been pleased to  
 ‘ represent. It is certain that such messages have  
 ‘ been several times sent to Parliament, and it is  
 ‘ likewise certain that such returns have always been  
 ‘ made to them as the noble Duke has now been  
 ‘ pleased to move for, upon occasion of the present  
 ‘ message. It is true, that such messages have never  
 ‘ been sent but upon extraordinary occasions, and  
 ‘ the reasons for sending them have always been  
 ‘ communicated to Parliament; and is not this the  
 ‘ very case at present? What more extraordinary  
 ‘ occasion can be supposed? The noble Lord who  
 ‘ spoke last admits, that the liberties of *Europe* are  
 ‘ deeply concerned in the fate of the present war,  
 ‘ and may be swallowed up by the event; and can  
 ‘ we imagine that the liberties of this nation are  
 ‘ secure, when the liberties of *Europe* are in  
 ‘ danger?

‘ It must therefore be allowed, my Lords, that  
 ‘ the occasion of this message is of the utmost con-  
 ‘ sequence; and the reasons for our being necessarily  
 ‘ obliged to come to some immediate resolution, are  
 ‘ not only in themselves apparent, but are likewise  
 ‘ fully expressed in his Majesty's message. The for-  
 ‘ tune of war we all know to be extremely preca-  
 ‘ rious,

' rious, and the changes that happen are often as sud-  
 ' den as they are unlooked for : Some of these may  
 ' lay his Majesty under an indispensable necessity  
 ' of sending immediate assistance to the unfortunate  
 ' side, in which case we may depend on it, that some  
 ' desperate attempts will be made upon this nation  
 ' by the other side now engaged in the war : Our  
 ' neighbours have now great armies in the field, and  
 ' some of them have powerful fleets ready to put to  
 ' sea : They have already prepared to execute an at-  
 ' tempt, and when they are in such circumstances,  
 ' we may depend on it, that the resolution, as soon  
 ' as taken, will be carried into execution. We all  
 ' know, that this Parliament must be soon dissolved,  
 ' and after it is dissolved, many weeks must inter-  
 ' vene before a new Parliament can assemble. In  
 ' the mean time, his Majesty may be obliged to  
 ' declare himself, and upon that, some attempts may  
 ' be made, which may be of the most dangerous  
 ' consequence to the safety of this nation, before his  
 ' Majesty can have the advice and assistance of a  
 ' new Parliament ; which makes it absolutely ne-  
 ' cessary for us, before we now separate, to give his  
 ' Majesty a power to provide against the worst.

' I will agree with the noble Lord who spoke  
 ' last, that all messages from the King, as well as  
 ' speeches from the throne, when they come to be  
 ' considered in this house, are to be looked on as  
 ' coming from the ministers ; therefore we may,  
 ' with all imaginable freedom consider them, and  
 ' whatever may be said upon that occasion, is al-  
 ' ways to be presumed to relate only to the ministers,  
 ' and not to the crown ; for which reason, our duty  
 ' and respect to his Majesty, is never upon such  
 ' occasions to be brought any way into the question.  
 ' But as to the message now before us, my Lords, it  
 ' is so far from being an extraordinary one, that I  
 ' must look upon it rather as a piece of condescen-  
 ' sion in the crown ; for it is certain, that upon any



‘ sudden emergency, his Majesty has a power,  
 ‘ which always has been, and always must be vested  
 ‘ in the crown, to provide for the security of his  
 ‘ crown and kingdoms, by raising forces either for  
 ‘ land or sea-service, and borrowing or applying  
 ‘ money for that purpose, even without waiting for  
 ‘ the consent of Parliament ; and whatever the King  
 ‘ may upon such occasions be obliged to do, will  
 ‘ always be approved of, and provided for by Par-  
 ‘ liament, as soon as they meet, in case nothing has  
 ‘ been done, nor any expences incurred, but what  
 ‘ shall appear to be necessary ; this is the power his  
 ‘ majesty has by our constitution ; and this is all he  
 ‘ asks for by the present message : He asks only for  
 ‘ a power to make such farther augmentation of his  
 ‘ forces, either by sea or land, as may be absolutely  
 ‘ necessary for the honour and defence of his king-  
 ‘ doms.

‘ This, in my opinion, my Lords, is as modest  
 ‘ a demand, as ever was sent to Parliament : It shews  
 ‘ how cautious his Majesty is of putting his people  
 ‘ to any extraordinary expence : Considering the pre-  
 ‘ sent posture of the affairs of *Europe*, I believe this  
 ‘ house would have thought it but reasonable, if  
 ‘ his Majesty, at the beginning of the session, had  
 ‘ asked for a much greater augmentation of his  
 ‘ forces, both by sea and land, than he did at that  
 ‘ time : Nay, if his Majesty had now asked for an  
 ‘ immediate augmentation, instead of asking only  
 ‘ for a power to make it, in case it shall hereafter  
 ‘ appear to be absolutely necessary, I do not doubt,  
 ‘ but your Lordships would have complied with it ;  
 ‘ but his Majesty, desirous not to put his people to  
 ‘ any expence, or at least to delay it as long as he  
 ‘ can, and yet solicitous about the quiet and safety  
 ‘ of his people, desires only the latter ; and that  
 ‘ power he applies for to Parliament, tho’ he  
 ‘ knows it to be vested in him without any such  
 ‘ application. This is the light which the present  
 ‘ message

‘ message ought to be considered in ; and there-  
‘ fore whether we should grant such a power as is  
‘ now asked for, cannot, I think, be properly made  
‘ a question.

‘ Indeed, if the ministers should make a bad use  
‘ of the power now proposed to be granted to his  
‘ Majesty; if they should augment their forces,  
‘ either by sea or land, without any necessity for so  
‘ doing ; if they should put the nation to any greater  
‘ expence, than what shall appear to be absolutely  
‘ necessary, there would then be some ground for  
‘ a question ; but in such a case, can the present  
‘ message, or the address proposed in answer to the  
‘ message, be of any weight on either side of that  
‘ question ? Can the ministers plead in their justifi-  
‘ cation, that they had a power from Parliament to  
‘ do so ? It is certain they cannot : They must an-  
‘ swer for what they have done in the same manner,  
‘ as if no such address had ever been proposed. For  
‘ my own part, my Lords, I am no minister ;  
‘ I never was, or ever will be a minister ; but on  
‘ all such occasions as the present, I must think they  
‘ have a most dangerous task : The danger of not  
‘ providing in time for the safety and defence of the  
‘ nation, and the danger of running the nation into  
‘ expences, which may thereafter be thought un-  
‘ necessary, are two opposite rocks, which even the  
‘ wisest ministers ought to be afraid of : They will  
‘ always find it difficult for them to steer the middle  
‘ course, so as to avoid both the extremes : And we  
‘ must conclude it to be the more difficult, when we  
‘ consider, that to the bulk of mankind dangers seem  
‘ huge in their approach, but diminish vastly in their  
‘ retreat.

‘ I am persuaded none of your Lordships are  
‘ afraid, I cannot indeed see the least reason why any  
‘ man should, at present, entertain any fears about  
‘ the liberties of his country, I am sure there is no  
‘ ground for such fears. If any encroachments had

‘ been lately made by the crown, or by the ministers  
‘ of the crown, upon the rights and liberties of the  
‘ people, we would have reason, my Lords, to be  
‘ jealous of every proposition that came from that  
‘ quarter ; but there has been no such attempt late-  
‘ ly made, and I believe there never was a time,  
‘ when private men enjoyed their property with  
‘ more ease and security ; therefore I can see no rea-  
‘ son for us to take the alarm ; and the present mes-  
‘ sage is so far from affording any foundation for an  
‘ alarm, that I must look upon it as one of the  
‘ greatest pieces of condescension that was ever made  
‘ by any King to his Parliament. As for the cla-  
‘ mours that may have been lately raised against the  
‘ ministers of state, if ever there were any such, they  
‘ ought to be despised, because they were without  
‘ any just cause, and were very far from being ge-  
‘ neral. There have been some clamours against all  
‘ ministers, and against all future ministers we may  
‘ expect there will be clamours raised ; Even in the  
‘ reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; in that reign which  
‘ has been so often applauded by those who had a  
‘ mind to reflect upon the present, there were cla-  
‘ mours among some sorts of people, during her  
‘ whole reign : Even that great minister *Bur-*  
‘ *leigh*, who with so great wisdom and modera-  
‘ tion, and for so many years, during her reign,  
‘ managed the public affairs of this nation, could  
‘ not escape : Nay, there were not only clamours  
‘ and discontents in that Queen’s reign, but there were  
‘ many plots too, and even some rebellions raised  
‘ against her ; therefore we are not immediately to  
‘ conclude, that ministers are guilty, because there  
‘ have been some little clamours and calumnies raised  
‘ against them.

‘ It is true, my Lords, we have already passed  
‘ the mutiny bill, and in that bill I must likewise  
‘ grant, that a certain number of land forces is men-  
‘ tioned ; but, in my opinion, the mutiny bill al-  
‘ ways

‘ ways did, and now does extend, not only to the  
 ‘ number of forces therein mentioned, but to all the  
 ‘ land forces that should be raised within that year :  
 ‘ However, I am no lawyer, though I am in the  
 ‘ neighbourhood of a very good one, to whom I  
 ‘ shall leave the determination of this point, and I  
 ‘ hope he will be so good as to rise up and give the  
 ‘ house his opinion upon it.’

The Earl of *Chesterfield*. ‘ My Lords, notwith-  
 ‘ standing what the noble Duke who spoke last, has  
 ‘ been pleased to say in favour of the message now  
 ‘ under our consideration, it still appears to me to be  
 ‘ the most extraordinary that was ever sent to this  
 ‘ house. I believe no man will doubt of my af-  
 ‘ fection to his Majesty, or of my readiness to agree  
 ‘ to every thing I think absolutely necessary for the  
 ‘ support of his crown and dignity ; but as all such  
 ‘ messages are presumed to be framed by the advice,  
 ‘ and upon the suggestion of those in the administra-  
 ‘ tion, therefore, I, and every other Lord of this  
 ‘ house, not only have a right, but we are in duty  
 ‘ bound to examine them narrowly ; and from thence  
 ‘ if it appears, that what is demanded by such a mes-  
 ‘ sage is not at all necessary for the support of his  
 ‘ Majesty, or the safety of the nation, tho’ it may  
 ‘ be necessary for the support of ministerial schemes,  
 ‘ and perhaps for the safety of ministerial personages,  
 ‘ we are, both in duty and honour, obliged not  
 ‘ to comply with such a demand, especially if it  
 ‘ appears to be inconsistent with the constitution, or  
 ‘ contrary to the usual form of proceeding in Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, which is plainly the case with respect to the  
 ‘ demand now made upon us ; for it must certainly  
 ‘ be allowed to be contrary to the form of proceeding  
 ‘ in Parliament ; and as it vests an absolute power  
 ‘ in the crown, for as long a time as the crown,  
 ‘ or rather the ministers of the crown, may please  
 ‘ to continue it, I cannot think it consistent with  
 ‘ the

Earl of  
*Chester-*  
*field's*  
*speech.*

‘ the constitution of our government: I must think  
 ‘ it is the most extraordinary demand that was ever  
 ‘ made upon any Parliament in this kingdom; and  
 ‘ it is the more extraordinary, that it comes now at  
 ‘ the end of the last session of a long Parliament: It  
 ‘ really appears to me in the same light, as if an ap-  
 ‘ plication should be made to a man on his death-  
 ‘ bed, a man in his utmost caducity, to bequeath all  
 ‘ he has in the world to those who are utter strangers  
 ‘ to him; nay, to those who have been generally re-  
 ‘ puted his greatest enemies.

‘ I cannot agree with the noble Duke that such  
 ‘ messages have been frequent: It is certain they  
 ‘ were never heard of till of late years; I doubt if  
 ‘ such an unlimited power was ever before asked for;  
 ‘ I am sure such a power was never asked for,  
 ‘ but when the nation was in imminent as well as  
 ‘ great danger; for to tell us that the liberties of  
 ‘ *Europe* may be swallowed up by the present war,  
 ‘ and that therefore this nation is in great danger, is  
 ‘ no excuse for our breaking through all the forms  
 ‘ and methods of proceeding in Parliament, by  
 ‘ agreeing to the extraordinary step now proposed. I  
 ‘ cannot think that the liberties of *Europe* are in so  
 ‘ great danger of being swallowed up in the event  
 ‘ of the present war, as some people seem willing we  
 ‘ should believe; but granting they were, it is but  
 ‘ a consequential danger to this nation; and to ex-  
 ‘ cuse such an extraordinary step, the danger ought  
 ‘ not only to be great, but it ought to be imminent;  
 ‘ I do not think that any thing ought to force us to  
 ‘ make such a step, but when we are in immediate  
 ‘ danger of a powerful invasion from abroad, or of  
 ‘ a very terrible insurrection at home. With respect  
 ‘ to all others dangers, we may deliberately provide  
 ‘ against them, according to the usual methods of  
 ‘ proceeding in Parliament; and if precedents should  
 ‘ be searched into, I believe it will appear, that no  
 ‘ such message as the present was ever sent to  
 ‘ Parlia-



‘ Parliament, but when we had good reason to apprehend one of the two immediate dangers I have mentioned.

‘ Now, my Lords, in the present case, it is not so much as pretended that we are in any imminent danger ; on the contrary we are told, that no material alteration has happened since the beginning of the session ; therefore if we are now in any imminent danger, we were in the same state at the beginning of the session, and if we were so at that time, why were we not then made acquainted with it ? If we had then been made acquainted with it, we might have long before now taken the circumstances of the nation into our consideration, and might have sufficiently provided against the greatest danger that can be supposed, in a regular Parliamentary way : But suppose, my Lords, some considerable alterations have happened since the beginning of the session, which this house cannot, I think, pretend either to affirm or deny, because we have been kept in utter darkness with respect to the situation of our foreign affairs ; suppose some new dangers are now to be apprehended, which could not be thought of or foreseen, at the beginning of the session, what necessity is there for providing against them in a manner so inconsistent with our constitution ? Are they so imminent that we have reason to apprehend their coming upon us in a few days ? It is impossible to suppose any such ; and if no such dangers can be supposed, what reason have we to break through all the forms of Parliament ? Is there any necessity for putting an immediate end to the present session of Parliament ? No, my Lords, by the *septennial law* this Parliament may continue sitting till the month of *September* or *October* next ; before that time the dangers we are now threatened with may blow over, or if they should approach nearer, we may provide against them in that manner, and according

I

‘ cording to those forms, which the wisdom of our  
‘ ancestors has contrived for the preservation of our  
‘ liberties.

‘ We are told our neighbours are at war, they  
‘ have great armies in the field, and powerful fleets  
‘ ready to put to sea: What is all this, my Lords,  
‘ to us? Does not this add to the security of this  
‘ nation, instead of subjecting us to any danger? If  
‘ we are no way engaged in the war (and we are  
‘ told we are not) if we have done nothing to give  
‘ any just alarm, is it to be supposed that any one of  
‘ the powers upon the continent, while it is engaged  
‘ in a dangerous and heavy war with another power,  
‘ will do any thing, or attempt any thing that may  
‘ in the least tend to draw the immediate vengeance  
‘ of this nation upon its head? Is it possible to  
‘ imagine any nation upon earth so weak, or rather  
‘ so mad in their politics? I have not, ’tis true, the  
‘ honour to have been made acquainted with the se-  
‘ veral engagements we may be under at present to  
‘ foreign powers; but if I can judge from such of  
‘ them as have been made public; if I can draw any  
‘ conclusion from the many treaties and alliances late-  
‘ ly made, I must conclude, that at present we are  
‘ in good terms with all the powers in *Europe* at  
‘ least, therefore I must conclude, we cannot be in  
‘ any danger from any of them; and I hope no dan-  
‘ ger we may have to fear from any other quarter  
‘ of the world, can be of weight enough to prevail  
‘ with this house to agree to such an extraordinary  
‘ measure.

‘ I shall grant, my Lords, that we might perhaps  
‘ have offended the *Imperial* court, by the treaty  
‘ made at *Hanover* with the *French*; but surely we  
‘ have made up that breach by our late treaty of  
‘ *Vienna*, by which we generously, and without the  
‘ least valuable consideration, became guarantees of  
‘ the Pragmatic Sanction. As to *France*, we have  
‘ of late years heaped so many favours upon that  
‘ nation,

tion, that I cannot think they have any reason, or indeed any inclination to do us an injury: Did not we by the treaty of *Hanover*, which was made for pulling down the over-grown power of the house of *Austria*, and the following treaty of *Seville*, break that close union which had been contracted between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, so much to the prejudice of the court of *France*? And did not we thereby oblige *Spain* to throw herself intirely into the arms of *France*, by which we again united the two great branches of the house of *Bourbon*? And can we imagine that *France* will disturb us, while she is making the best of that union which we were so good as to restore? And as to *Spain*, my Lords, we did perhaps, disoblige them likewise by our treaty of *Hanover*, and some other measures which were the effects of that treaty; but have we not since procured them the rich Dutchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, for their son *Don Carlos*? Did not we, at a great expence to this nation, send a powerful fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to conduct that Prince with the greater pomp and ceremony, to the dominions we had procured for him in *Italy*? 'Tis true, he did not make use of that fleet, but was that any fault of ours, or can it be said we had any selfish view in what we did, since the whole was transacted without any stipulation in our own favour? By this we opened a way for the *Spaniards* into *Italy*; nay, I do not know, but that by our management we have likewise thrown the King of *Sardinia* into the arms of *France*, and have thereby opened a way for the *French* likewise into *Italy*. Besides all these favours heaped upon our neighbours, have not we, by the most full and explicit treaties and stipulations, secured all our rights and possessions both abroad and at home; and in such circumstances, after so many glorious treaties, can it be imagined that we are in danger of  
being

‘ being invaded or insulted by any of our neighbours.

‘ This, my Lords, I take to be the case as to  
 ‘ our past management; but it is said the present  
 ‘ war may take such a turn, as may lay his Majesty  
 ‘ under a necessity of sending immediate assistance  
 ‘ to the unfortunate side, in order to prevent the balance of power in *Europe* from being quite overturned. This is a supposition which really to me  
 ‘ seems as extraordinary as the message now under  
 ‘ our consideration. I will readily allow, that the fate  
 ‘ of war is precarious, but I cannot easily admit that  
 ‘ a whole campaign, even the most unfortunate that  
 ‘ can be supposed, can make the Emperor absolute  
 ‘ master of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, or can make  
 ‘ *France* absolute master of the whole *German* Empire; for we know that *France* has stood out many  
 ‘ unfortunate campaigns against the united powers  
 ‘ of *Germany*, *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal*, and  
 ‘ *Sardinia*; and tho’ *Spain* and *Sardinia* now make  
 ‘ use of *France* to enlarge their dominions in *Italy*,  
 ‘ yet if *France* shewed the least inclination to make  
 ‘ a conquest of *Germany*, they would both turn their  
 ‘ arms against her, because they must preserve *Germany*  
 ‘ in order to preserve their own dominions in  
 ‘ *Italy*, or indeed in any part of the world. The  
 ‘ circumstances of *Europe* are now very far from  
 ‘ being the same they were at the beginning of the  
 ‘ late war; the King of *France* was then absolute  
 ‘ master of *Spain*, and could make that nation do  
 ‘ whatever he had a mind; but now *France* must  
 ‘ act very cautiously, in order not to give that nation  
 ‘ any jealousy of her aiming at too great an increase  
 ‘ of power, otherwise the *Spaniards* may soon  
 ‘ become as deadly foes to the *French* as ever they  
 ‘ were heretofore: I must therefore think, my  
 ‘ Lords, that the liberties of *Europe* are not in such  
 ‘ danger of being swallowed up in the event of the  
 ‘ present war; but if there were, they cannot be swallowed

‘lowed up so soon, even by the most sudden and  
‘most fatal accident, but that his Majesty may have  
‘time enough to apply in a regular manner to his  
‘Parliament, for advice and assistance, before he can  
‘be under a necessity of declaring himself of either  
‘side of the question.

‘But, my Lords, we are told that this Parlia-  
‘ment must be dissolved; and before a new one can  
‘meet, his Majesty may be obliged to declare him-  
‘self, or at least that some of the powers engaged in  
‘war, may become jealous that he is to declare  
‘against them, and consequently, may attempt to  
‘invade this nation, before his Majesty can have the  
‘assistance of a new Parliament, to enable him to  
‘provide against such invasion.

‘This is an argument I am sorry to hear made  
‘use of in this house, and I am persuaded the noble  
‘Lords who make use of it, do not mean such a  
‘conclusion as seems naturally to flow from it; for,  
‘in my opinion, it plainly seems to carry this infi-  
‘nuation, that the granting of such a power at the  
‘end of every Parliament, will be always necessary  
‘hereafter. If that were really the case, I should  
‘be very apt to conclude, that the power would then  
‘be made use of, not to defend the nation against  
‘foreign invasions, but to defend the ministers against  
‘the danger they might have reason to apprehend  
‘from an anti-ministerial Parliament, in case the  
‘new one should appear to be of such a complexion;  
‘and I am very sure, that a minister with such a  
‘power in his hands, and such a Parliament against  
‘him, would never allow that Parliament to meet.

‘We are now told, as I have already taken no-  
‘tice, that our neighbours are deeply engaged in  
‘war one against another, that they have great ar-  
‘mies in the field, and powerful fleets ready to put to  
‘sea; that they may conceive a jealousy that we are  
‘to join against them, and may consequently, invade  
‘us before the King can have the assistance of a new  
‘Parliament,



' Parliament, to enable him to provide against that  
 ' invasion ; therefore before we draw our last breath,  
 ' we must, it is said, for our own safety, put an ab-  
 ' solute power into the hands of the crown, to con-  
 ' tinue till the ministers shall think fit to convene  
 ' the new Parliament. At the end of the next Par-  
 ' liament, there may, my Lords, be the same reason  
 ' for granting the same power, and the reason will  
 ' be much stronger, if we are then actually engaged  
 ' in the war : But suppose there is then a profound  
 ' tranquillity in *Europe*, our neighbours very proba-  
 ' bly will have very near as great armies and as  
 ' powerful fleets as they have now ; and may we not  
 ' then be told, your neighbours are now no way en-  
 ' gaged elsewhere, their armies are quartered very  
 ' near the sea coast, their fleets may be made ready  
 ' to put to sea in a month's time, they may conceive  
 ' a jealousy that you are to invade them, and there-  
 ' fore they will endeavour to invade you ; for this  
 ' reason it is necessary for you to put an absolute  
 ' power into the hands of the crown ? Will not this  
 ' argument be then stronger than the argument now  
 ' made use of ? It will, my Lords, in my opinion,  
 ' be much stronger : We are certainly in greater  
 ' danger of being suddenly invaded by our neigh-  
 ' bours, when they have their troops unemployed,  
 ' and quartered upon their sea coasts, that when all  
 ' their troops are marched many hundred miles from  
 ' their sea coasts, and employed against another ene-  
 ' my ; and surely they may more suddenly fit out a  
 ' fleet proper for that purpose, when none of their  
 ' ships of war are employed elsewhere, than when  
 ' they are obliged to keep many of them in seas  
 ' very far distant from this island.

' The Dictatorial power was, my Lords, a part  
 ' of the *Roman* constitution, even from the very be-  
 ' ginning of their republic ; but while they pre-  
 ' served their virtue, while they preserved their li-  
 ' berty, this power was never granted but upon  
 ' the

' the most important, the most urgent occasions;  
' and was never granted for a longer term than six  
' months; when the virtue and the public spirit  
' of that once brave people, began to decay, this  
' power was often granted upon trifling occasions;  
' it then began to be granted for a long term, and  
' soon after was granted for life: With this last grant  
' they granted away all the liberties of their coun-  
' try for ever: The Dictator might die, but the  
' power was handed down immediately to another;  
' the tyranny became perpetual. The power now  
' asked for, is in some measure a dictatorial power,  
' it has but of late years crept into our constitution,  
' it was never yet granted but upon the most urgent  
' occasions; but if we once begin to grant it for a  
' time indefinite, and upon such suppositions and  
' may-be's, I can easily foresee what will be: It will  
' at last, nay, it will soon be either granted or taken  
' for life, and then adieu for ever to the liberties of  
' *Great Britain*.

' I will allow, that by our constitution, our Kings  
' have always had, during the interval of Parliament,  
' a sort of dictatorial power, a power to take care  
' that the commonwealth may be no way injured;  
' and therefore, in case of any sudden and unexpected  
' danger, the King may raise forces, or may fit  
' out a fleet, for preventing that danger; and where  
' the danger is apparent, it is certain the King never  
' did, nor ever will want money as long as there is  
' any in the nation; for upon such an occasion, no  
' man will refuse to lend his money to the govern-  
' ment; and the Parliament will certainly approve  
' of what has been done, and provide for the re-  
' payment of what has been borrowed, providing it  
' be made appear to them, that there was a necessity  
' for putting the nation to that expence; but the  
' asking for such a power before-hand, looks as if  
' something were intended, which could not well be  
' approved of: It looks as if the nation were to be

' put to an additional expence, without any appa-  
 ' rent reason for so doing, and as if this anticipated  
 ' credit were asked for from Parliament, in order to  
 ' encourage people to lend their money to the pub-  
 ' lic, tho' they see no necessity for any such public  
 ' expence. No man will refuse to let an infant of  
 ' a good estate, have whatever may be necessary for  
 ' his subsistence ; for this he has no great occasion for  
 ' any letter of credit from his guardians ; but if his  
 ' guardians should be such fools, or rather such un-  
 ' faithful guardians, as to give him an unlimited  
 ' letter of credit for borrowing whatever he himself  
 ' might think necessary for his subsistence, it would  
 ' certainly tend to throw him into extravagance,  
 ' and might make him a prey for usurers and extor-  
 ' tioners.

' I am very well convinced, my Lords, that the  
 ' safety of the people will not be any way better se-  
 ' cured by the resolution now proposed ; but I am  
 ' very far from thinking, that the power of the crown  
 ' will be no way enlarged ; if it were really thought  
 ' so, I am sure no minister would ever give himself  
 ' the trouble of persuading the King to send such a  
 ' message to Parliament ; but suppose I were con-  
 ' vinced, that no additional power is, by this propo-  
 ' sition, to be granted to the King ; that very confi-  
 ' deration would, with me, be a most prevailing ar-  
 ' gument for being against it ; for it must be allow-  
 ' ed, that what is now proposed, is something very  
 ' extraordinary, and contrary to all those forms and  
 ' methods of proceeding in Parliament, which long  
 ' experience has taught us to be necessary for the  
 ' preservation of our liberties ; why then should we  
 ' make so great an encroachment upon our constitu-  
 ' tion, if neither the safety of the people, nor the  
 ' security of the crown be thereby any way improv-  
 ' ed ? This reason, I say, my Lords, if there were  
 ' none other, would prevail with me to be against  
 ' agreeing to the proposition now before us ; but as

‘ I think it of the most dangerous consequence to  
 ‘ the liberties of the people, as I think that a power  
 ‘ is thereby to be granted to the crown, which ought  
 ‘ never to be granted, but in cases of the utmost,  
 ‘ the most imminent danger, therefore I shall most  
 ‘ heartily give my negative to it.’

Lord *Hardwick*. ‘ I think, my Lords, it is now Lord  
 ‘ admitted by both sides, that during the interval of *Hard-*  
 ‘ Parliament, his Majesty has, by law, and without *wick's*  
 ‘ any previous authority from Parliament, a power *speech.*  
 ‘ to provide for the safety of the kingdom, and con-  
 ‘ sequently, he must have a power of doing what-  
 ‘ ever shall appear necessary for that end ; therefore  
 ‘ I hope it will not be longer insisted on, that there  
 ‘ is any thing very extraordinary either in the mes-  
 ‘ sage now under our consideration, or in the propo-  
 ‘ sition that has been made to us, in consequence of  
 ‘ it. His Majesty only asks for a previous authori-  
 ‘ ty, for doing what he certainly might do without  
 ‘ any such authority ; and we, by the address pro-  
 ‘ posed to us, only promise to support his Majesty, in  
 ‘ what shall appear to be necessary for the safety of  
 ‘ the nation, and for the support of his crown and  
 ‘ dignity. If the nation should be unnecessarily put  
 ‘ to expence, if any extraordinary measures should  
 ‘ be pursued, without a necessity for so doing, the  
 ‘ ministers will be answerable for it, and may be  
 ‘ punished in the same manner, as if no such address  
 ‘ had ever been proposed ; and as there is no extra-  
 ‘ ordinary power asked for, or proposed to be grant-  
 ‘ ed, the method of doing it cannot be of any weight  
 ‘ in the debate, nor can it be attended with any ill  
 ‘ consequence.

‘ As to the giving his Majesty a power, by an ad-  
 ‘ dress or a vote, to raise land forces, there is cer-  
 ‘ tainly nothing illegal in it ; for tho’ the King can-  
 ‘ not, by law, raise or keep up a standing army in  
 ‘ this nation, in time of Peace, without consent of

‘ Parliament ; yet, my Lords, I know of no law  
 ‘ that directs how that consent is to be obtained ; it  
 ‘ may, in my opinion, be had by a vote or an ad-  
 ‘ dress from each house of Parliament, as well as by  
 ‘ an act regularly passed in Parliament. And as to  
 ‘ the mutiny bill which we have already passed, it is  
 ‘ the same with former bills of the like nature, tho’  
 ‘ there be a particular number of land forces men-  
 ‘ tioned in the preamble ; yet the enacting part is  
 ‘ general, and comprehends all the regular forces  
 ‘ that then were on foot, or that shall be raised in  
 ‘ this Kingdom during the continuance of that act.

‘ Therefore, my Lords, as there is nothing ille-  
 ‘ gal or extraordinary in the message, or in the pro-  
 ‘ position now under our consideration ; as from the  
 ‘ present known circumstances of *Europe* some acci-  
 ‘ dents may happen, that may put this nation under  
 ‘ a necessity of making a farther provision for self-  
 ‘ defence ; and as those accidents may fall out so  
 ‘ suddenly and so unexpectedly, that there may not be  
 ‘ a possibility for his Majesty, to have time to take  
 ‘ the advice and assistance of a new Parliament, I  
 ‘ cannot but be for agreeing to the proposition now  
 ‘ made to us.’

Lord Ba-  
 thurst’s  
 speech.

Lord *Bathurst*. ‘ My Lords, I have a very great  
 ‘ regard for the opinion of the noble Lord who  
 ‘ spoke last, especially in so far as relates to the laws  
 ‘ and the constitution of this kingdom ; and there-  
 ‘ fore, I am the more surpris’d to hear him declare,  
 ‘ that he knows of no law which determines and  
 ‘ directs the method by which his Majesty is to have  
 ‘ the consent of his Parliament. I will not pretend  
 ‘ to be so well acquainted with the laws or the sta-  
 ‘ tutes of this realm as that learned Lord ; but I am  
 ‘ sure there is a law which determines the method by  
 ‘ which his Majesty is to have the consent of his  
 ‘ Parliament, as well with respect to the raising and  
 ‘ keeping



‘ keeping up a standing army in time of peace, as  
 ‘ with respect to every other case where the consent  
 ‘ of Parliament is necessary by our constitution : I  
 ‘ mean, my Lords, the *lex & consuetudo Parliamenti*,  
 ‘ which I look upon to be as much a part of the  
 ‘ laws of *England*, as any other part of the common  
 ‘ law ; nay, as any statute expressly enacted by King,  
 ‘ Lords, and Commons. It is true, my Lords, there  
 ‘ is not, I believe, any express statute for directing  
 ‘ the method of obtaining the consent in question ;  
 ‘ but there is never an express statute made in any  
 ‘ case, but where the common law is either doubtful  
 ‘ or deficient ; and, as this part of the common law,  
 ‘ as this custom of Parliament was never before call-  
 ‘ ed in question, it was never thought necessary to  
 ‘ make any express statute for regulating the method  
 ‘ of obtaining the consent of Parliament ; but, in this  
 ‘ age, we seem inclined to call in question every cus-  
 ‘ tom and every maxim established by our ancestors,  
 ‘ especially when it interferes with any favourite  
 ‘ point our ministers have in view.

‘ I hope, my Lords, it will be allowed, that no  
 ‘ tax can be imposed or levied upon the people, but  
 ‘ by consent of Parliament : This, I hope, will be  
 ‘ allowed to be one of the fundamental maxims of  
 ‘ our constitution ; and the meaning of this maxim  
 ‘ I always took to be, that no tax could be raised  
 ‘ but by act of Parliament : but as there is no ex-  
 ‘ press statute for regulating the method of obtaining  
 ‘ the consent of Parliament in this particular, I do  
 ‘ not know but it may be now said, that taxes may  
 ‘ be imposed, or the King may be enabled to impose  
 ‘ a tax by a vote, or by an address from both houses  
 ‘ of Parliament ; I am sure it may be said, that this  
 ‘ method of obtaining the consent of Parliament, is  
 ‘ as sufficient for the raising of money, as it is for  
 ‘ the raising of an army : Indeed if we agree to the  
 ‘ proposition now before us, it will seem to insinuate  
 ‘ as much ; for tho’ we do not thereby expressly im-

‘ power his Majesty to impose a tax, yet we are to  
 ‘ impower him to borrow money, for the re-pay-  
 ‘ ment of which, some tax or another must be im-  
 ‘ posed next session of Parliament; and I do not  
 ‘ know but the gradation will be found more easy,  
 ‘ than some people at present seem to apprehend,  
 ‘ for us to proceed from impowering the crown, by  
 ‘ way of a vote or an address, to raise money by a  
 ‘ loan, to that of impowering the crown by way of  
 ‘ a vote or address, to raise money by any tax the  
 ‘ crown shall think fit to impose.

‘ As to the mutiny bill, my Lords, I really did  
 ‘ not take particular notice of the bill last passed in  
 ‘ this house: That bill is now become so much a bill  
 ‘ of course, that I never once doubted its being in  
 ‘ the same words with other bills of that nature for-  
 ‘ merly passed in Parliament, and therefore I did  
 ‘ not read it with that attention which I ought to  
 ‘ have done; but I am sure that in some former bills  
 ‘ of the same nature, the number of forces to be  
 ‘ kept up, was mentioned to be so many, and *no*  
 ‘ *more*: Whether the words *no more* be in the last  
 ‘ bill I cannot determine; but grant they are not, I  
 ‘ am persuaded some Lord of this house, or some  
 ‘ member of the other, would have taken notice of  
 ‘ their having been left out, if it had not been thought  
 ‘ that they must necessarily be understood: And I  
 ‘ think every man has good reason to suppose, that no  
 ‘ greater number of the subjects of *England*, can be  
 ‘ subjected to the martial law, than the number men-  
 ‘ tioned in that bill, whether the words *no more* be  
 ‘ added or not. It is certain, that no part of the  
 ‘ common law, much less *magna charta*, or any other  
 ‘ express statute, can be repealed, but by act of Par-  
 ‘ liament: I hope it will not be said, that any one  
 ‘ of the standing laws of *England* can be repealed  
 ‘ by a vote or an address from both houses of Par-  
 ‘ liament, tho’ I do not know indeed, but even this  
 ‘ doctrine may hereafter be insisted on, as a natural

‘ con-

‘ consequence of the doctrine this day advanced in  
‘ this house.

‘ However, my Lords, I hope we will not this  
‘ day advance so far in our new improvements ; and  
‘ therefore it must be allowed, that no private man  
‘ can be stripped of those liberties and privileges,  
‘ which he enjoys by *magna charta*, and many o-  
‘ ther express statutes, without a new law made for  
‘ that purpose ; and I hope it will be granted that  
‘ whatever general words are in any statute, which  
‘ are, or may seem to be, contrary to the liberty of  
‘ the subject, are always to be taken in the most  
‘ confined sense ; they cannot be so much as ex-  
‘ plained, much less extended, by a vote or by an  
‘ address, of either or of both houses of Parliament.  
‘ It will likewise, I hope, be granted, that all those  
‘ who are, by the mutiny bill subjected to the mar-  
‘ tial law, are thereby stripped of a great many of  
‘ those liberties and privileges which they are inti-  
‘ tled to, as subjects of *England* ; and therefore, if  
‘ there are any general words in that bill, for sub-  
‘ jecting all those to the martial law who shall there-  
‘ after enlist in his Majesty’s service ; these general  
‘ words must refer to the particular number of men  
‘ mentioned in the bill, and when that number is  
‘ complete, no man that lists thereafter can be sub-  
‘ jected to the martial law, either by a vote or an  
‘ address ; there must be a new bill for that purpose,  
‘ otherwise there is not a man in the kingdom but  
‘ may be stripped of most of the valuable privileges  
‘ he enjoys as a subject of *England*, by a single vote  
‘ in Parliament ; for if we can, by a vote or an  
‘ address, empower his Majesty to raise as many  
‘ land forces as he pleases, and subject all the forces  
‘ so raised to the military law, we certainly can,  
‘ by the same method, empower the crown to im-  
‘ press men into the service ; and if such a vote should  
‘ be passed, what man in the nation could say he  
‘ had an hour’s certainty of enjoying those liberties

‘ and privileges he is intitled to as a subject of *England*.

‘ My Lords, till this day it has always been held  
 ‘ for an undoubted truth, that the consent of Par-  
 ‘ liament cannot be obtained any other way than by  
 ‘ a bill brought into either house of Parliament, and  
 ‘ regularly passed through both: By the custom of  
 ‘ Parliament this bill must be twice read, then com-  
 ‘ mitted, and then read a third time in each house  
 ‘ of Parliament, before it can be presented to the  
 ‘ King for his consent; and then at last it must have  
 ‘ the royal assent, before it can be looked on as a  
 ‘ law of this kingdom, or as a regulation to which  
 ‘ the Parliament has given its consent. These forms  
 ‘ and methods of proceeding in Parliament were  
 ‘ wisely established by our ancestors, to give time  
 ‘ to every gentleman of either house to be fully ap-  
 ‘ prised of what he was about, to consider maturely  
 ‘ all the consequences of what was proposed, and  
 ‘ even to consult and advise with his friends, before  
 ‘ he should be obliged to determine himself as to  
 ‘ either side of the question; and if ever this method  
 ‘ should be altered, if ever the doctrine should take  
 ‘ place, that we may do as much by a vote as we  
 ‘ can do by a bill, our constitution will be upon the  
 ‘ most precarious footing; both houses of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment may be surpris’d into a thing, which it will  
 ‘ never be in the power of the nation to retrieve;  
 ‘ nay, I do not know but some day or another both  
 ‘ houses of Parliament may be brought in, by sur-  
 ‘ prise, to surrender up to the crown all the rights,  
 ‘ liberties, and privileges of their country, by one  
 ‘ single vote.

‘ There is a very great difference, my Lords,  
 ‘ between anticipated promises and future provisions.  
 ‘ The first a running in debt, the other is a pay-  
 ‘ ing of ready money for what we have; and the  
 ‘ nature of mankind is such, that most men are apt  
 ‘ to be more extravagant when they live upon cre-  
 ‘ dit,

‘ dit, that when they pay ready money for every  
‘ thing they have. This nation has already suffered  
‘ severely by the former practice, and therefore I  
‘ wish we would begin to think of following the latter  
‘ only, for the future: But there is this farther difference  
‘ between the Parliament’s providing afterwards for  
‘ what the nation has been obliged necessarily to  
‘ expend, and promising before-hand to provide for  
‘ what the administration may thereafter think them-  
‘ selves necessarily obliged to expend, that in the first  
‘ case, the honour of Parliament is no way engaged  
‘ to the creditors of the public; and if the nation  
‘ should be idly and extravagantly run into debt, I  
‘ believe the Parliament would not think themselves  
‘ any way obliged to pay the debts which had been  
‘ so contracted, especially, because in such a case it  
‘ may be supposed, that those who had, upon such  
‘ an account, become the creditors of the public,  
‘ would generally consist of the creatures and favou-  
‘ rites, perhaps the trustees of the ministers; but in  
‘ the latter case, the Parliament stands engaged for  
‘ all the debts that shall be contracted, whether the  
‘ expence was necessary or not: The giving of an-  
‘ ticipated promises is giving a previous credit to  
‘ ministers, it is putting a parliamentary trust in them,  
‘ it is really vesting in the ministers a parliamentary  
‘ authority, by which many innocent private men  
‘ may be encouraged and drawn in to lend them their  
‘ money; and therefore the honour of Parliament  
‘ stands engaged to repay that money to the public  
‘ creditors, without any regard whether it has been  
‘ necessarily expended for the benefit of the public or  
‘ not.

‘ I shall readily grant, my Lords, that if, in con-  
‘ sequence of such anticipated promises, the mini-  
‘ sters should run the nation into an unnecessary ex-  
‘ pence, the next Parliament might punish the mi-  
‘ nisters who had advised such measures; but sup-  
‘ pose such ministers were actually hanged up, as  
‘ they



' they certainly would deserve, would that make  
 ' good the damage the nation had sustained? Their  
 ' sufferings might perhaps make some holy days for  
 ' the populace: But can we suppose that their estates  
 ' would be sufficient to reimburse the public, or to  
 ' satisfy the debts with which they had loaded the  
 ' public, by means of the credit imprudently given  
 ' to them by Parliament? Surely there is more wis-  
 ' dom in not putting it in a man's power to betray  
 ' his trust, than there is in foolishly and needlessly  
 ' reposing a great trust in a man, whereby he is not  
 ' only enabled, but perhaps tempted to cheat one,  
 ' and then hanging him for doing so. This is real-  
 ' ly the present case; the giving such an unlimited  
 ' credit to ministers, is really laying them under a  
 ' very great temptation to defraud the public. We  
 ' know, my Lords, how natural it is for men to  
 ' hope for impunity; nay, we know how difficult  
 ' it is even for Parliaments to bring great and high  
 ' criminals to condign punishment; and such a  
 ' power and credit as are now proposed to be gi-  
 ' ven, may afford a precedent, by which some fu-  
 ' ture minister may be enabled to put it absolutely  
 ' out of the power, both of the Parliament and the  
 ' people, ever to punish him, or any such as him  
 ' thereafter.

' The power and the credit now proposed for us  
 ' to give, are, my Lords, at all times dangerous,  
 ' but much more so when granted at the very end  
 ' of a Parliament, and just before a new election. I  
 ' do not believe that any bad use will be made of the  
 ' unlimited credit now proposed to be given; it is  
 ' not to be supposed that a bad use can be made of  
 ' any powers we give under his Majesty's wise ad-  
 ' ministration; but I do not know what may hap-  
 ' pen hereafter: If we should ever chance to have  
 ' an ambitious Prince upon the throne, or a weak  
 ' Prince, under the sole management of a guilty and  
 ' wicked minister, a precedent may be made of

' what is now proposed ; the same unlimited powers  
 ' may be then obtained from an expiring Parliament,  
 ' under pretence of defending the nation against ima-  
 ' ginary and unknown dangers, but really in order  
 ' doubly to arm that Prince or minister against our  
 ' constitution: That is to say, to furnish him with  
 ' money to be laid out in procuring a majority of  
 ' the creatures and slaves of the administration, to  
 ' be returned for the ensuing Parliament ; but in case  
 ' he should fail of success in that attempt, to furnish  
 ' him with such a standing army, as might be suffi-  
 ' cient to protect him against the highest resentment  
 ' of the new Parliament, or to support him without  
 ' any Parliament at all. If the first project should  
 ' succeed ; if he should by bribery get a Parliament  
 ' to his mind, such a Parliament, we may believe,  
 ' would certainly conclude with a like vote of credit,  
 ' in order to chuse the next : And thus a tyrannical  
 ' administration and a slavish Parliament, would for  
 ' ever be entailed upon this nation. But suppose he  
 ' should fail in his project of bribery, he would then  
 ' have recourse to his army, and might thereby sup-  
 ' port himself without any Parliament at all ; for  
 ' surely no man can suppose that a Prince or mini-  
 ' ster, with a numerous standing army intirely under  
 ' his direction, and commanded by such officers only,  
 ' as he shall please to appoint, will ever want  
 ' money to support that army, or to answer the  
 ' other demands of his government : As long as the  
 ' Parliament complies with all his requests, he will  
 ' accept of what money he wants in a legal way ;  
 ' but if the Parliament should once begin to refuse,  
 ' he will then resolve to raise that money in an  
 ' illegal way, which he finds he cannot have in a  
 ' legal.

' This, I hope, my Lords, is not the design at  
 ' present ; but as what is now proposed may give  
 ' encouragement to the forming of such designs, and  
 ' may be made a precedent for rendering that design  
 ' successful

‘ successful, therefore I must be for disagreeing with  
‘ the motion.’

The Earl of *Poulett* spoke next, in favour of the motion; then the Earl of *Aylesford*, and after him the Duke of *Montrose*, spoke both against the motion, and next,

Lord Tal-  
bot's  
speech.

The Lord Chancellor. ‘ My Lords, the present  
‘ situation of the affairs of *Europe*, is so well known  
‘ to every Lord in this house, that it is very unne-  
‘ cessary to give any particular account of them:  
‘ Considering the dangerous and heavy war now ac-  
‘ tually begun, and the many powers engaged in  
‘ that war, it is certain that some accidents may oc-  
‘ cur, which may threaten this nation with great and  
‘ imminent dangers: This was, we may suppose,  
‘ the occasion of the present message from his Ma-  
‘ jesty to this house; and it must be granted, that  
‘ this was a most weighty reason for sending such a  
‘ message; but as by that message his Majesty de-  
‘ fires no powers but what were before vested in  
‘ him, therefore we are to look upon it only as an  
‘ application from his Majesty, for the advice of his  
‘ Parliament, with relation to what may be thought  
‘ most proper to be done at such a critical juncture;  
‘ and the address proposed by the noble Duke, is,  
‘ in my opinion, the most dutiful and the most pro-  
‘ per return we can make to such a gracious mes-  
‘ sage.

‘ If without sending any such message to Parlia-  
‘ ment, the ministers, in case of an absolute neces-  
‘ sity, had augmented our forces both by sea and  
‘ land, and had borrowed money for that purpose,  
‘ can it be doubted, but that the next Parliament  
‘ would have approved of such measures, and would  
‘ have provided for such expence? But if they should  
‘ augment our forces, either by sea or land, or put  
‘ the nation to any expence, without an apparent  
‘ necessity

' necessity for so doing, is there any thing in the address proposed that can tend to justify them for such a piece of mismanagement? Will not the next Parliament be left as fully at liberty to punish them, as if no such message had ever been sent to Parliament, nor any such address presented by Parliament to the King?

' I will grant, my Lords, that by the address proposed, the ministers may have a little more credit among the people than otherwise they might have had. I will allow, that the honour of Parliament will, by the address proposed, be engaged to provide for the expence that may be incurred, and to repay the money that may be borrowed on that account, whether it shall appear that such expence was necessary or not; but this is the very reason that I am for the proposition made to us: Surely in such a dangerous situation as the affairs of *Europe* are in at present, the nation is not to be left defenceless, for fear a bad use should be made of the powers granted for providing for its defence. Shall we refuse a reasonable credit, or reasonable powers to our government, and thereby expose the nation to be invaded or over-run by a foreign enemy, and our government perhaps intirely subverted, only for fear that by granting such a credit the nation may perhaps be brought into a little unnecessary expence, or for fear our ministers should make a bad use of that trust which we repose in them? My Lords, it is absolutely necessary, at all times and in all countries, to put some trust in those who are appointed to administer the affairs of the public; without some such trust it would be impossible for any government to subsist; and the greater danger a country is in, the more trust must the people necessarily repose in their governors.

' But there is another consideration which is of greater weight with me: His Majesty tells us, he has

' has nothing more at heart than to see the flame of  
 ' war extinguished ; and as it is to be hoped, that  
 ' his Majesty will succeed in his endeavours that way,  
 ' before the flame comes to such a height, as that  
 ' we may be necessarily obliged to involve ourselves  
 ' in it, there is nothing can tend more towards mak-  
 ' ing his Majesty's endeavours successful, than to  
 ' convince all the powers now engaged in war, that  
 ' there is a perfect harmony subsisting between his  
 ' Majesty and his Parliament ; that we repose an in-  
 ' tire confidence in his Majesty's wisdom and con-  
 ' duct ; and that we will be ready, upon all occa-  
 ' sions, to support those measures which his Majesty  
 ' may find himself obliged to take : And is there  
 ' any thing can be a greater testimony of all this to  
 ' foreigners, than our agreeing to the address now  
 ' proposed ? This will convince every one of them,  
 ' that in case any of them, by their obstinacy, shall  
 ' provoke his Majesty to declare against them, he  
 ' will fall upon them with the whole power of this  
 ' nation ; and when the united force of this nation is  
 ' thrown into the scale, the weight of it is well  
 ' known to all the powers in *Europe*.

' As to the method of granting the power or the  
 ' credit now asked for, there is nothing new in it ;  
 ' it is what has been often practised before, and it  
 ' is now the more necessary, because it is proper the  
 ' Parliament should be soon dissolved, and we do  
 ' not know what may happen before it may be pos-  
 ' sible for the new one to assemble. 'Tis true, the  
 ' present Parliament does not of itself expire by the  
 ' *septennial bill*, till the month of *September* or *Octo-*  
 ' *ber* next, so that there is not any absolute necessity  
 ' for calling a new Parliament before that time ; but  
 ' the sooner a new Parliament is called, I believe it  
 ' will be the better ; for though a new Parliament  
 ' can do nothing but what the present may do, yet  
 ' there is such a thing as the complexion of a Par-  
 ' liament to be considered ; and if the new Parlia-

ment



‘ment shall appear to be as much devoted to his Majesty as the present, it will shew that there is a perfect harmony subsists between his Majesty and his people in general; and the new Parliament being to continue for seven years, it must add a much greater weight to his Majesty’s councils, and to his negotiations abroad, than can be expected from a Parliament which is to expire in six months.

‘Therefore, my Lords, as there is nothing new or extraordinary in the address proposed, as I think it the most proper return can be made, and such a return as we ought in duty to make to his Majesty’s most gracious message; and as I think it absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation, and for rendering his Majesty’s endeavours, for re-establishing the tranquillity of *Europe*, successful, I shall give my consent to it.’

Lord *Carteret* again. ‘My Lords, it is not to be denied, it has not in this debate been denied, Lord Carteret again. but that the Parliament may grant, and have formerly, though but very seldom, granted some extraordinary powers to the crown, when it has been made appear to them, that the nation has actually been in any great and imminent danger; but to take such an extraordinary step, to grant such extensive and unlimited powers to the crown, when it is not so much as pretended that the nation is in any imminent danger, I will aver to be not only a new but a most dangerous precedent. To tell us that the nation may be in danger, and therefore we must grant such a power as is now demanded, is certainly something very extraordinary: It is a reason for granting such powers, that will always exist, and in my opinion it always will, and always ought, to be more prevalent when our neighbours are all at peace with one another, than when they are deeply engaged in a war; for if ever any

‘quarrel

‘ quarrel should arise between us and any of them,  
 ‘ if ever any of them should conceive hopes of ad-  
 ‘ vantage from making an invasion upon us, it is  
 ‘ certain, they will be in a better condition, and  
 ‘ more easily induced to revenge that quarrel, or to  
 ‘ make an invasion, when they are no way engaged  
 ‘ elsewhere, than when they are deeply engaged in a  
 ‘ war with some other nation, and have use for all  
 ‘ the forces they can raise in a quite different part of  
 ‘ the world.

‘ I do not know, my Lords, but that there may  
 ‘ be occasion for putting the nation into a better  
 ‘ state of defence than it is in at present; but I am  
 ‘ convinced that occasion is not now so pressing, but  
 ‘ that it may be done in a regular parliamentary  
 ‘ way. To pretend, that the putting of an abso-  
 ‘ lute power into the hands of the crown, will give  
 ‘ weight to his Majesty’s councils, and to his nego-  
 ‘ tiations abroad, is to suppose, that foreigners know  
 ‘ much less of our constitution, or of the temper of  
 ‘ our people, than they really do: Perhaps ways and  
 ‘ means may be found to prevail upon a Parliament  
 ‘ to do so, but our neighbours know, that it is con-  
 ‘ trary to the nature of our constitution; from thence  
 ‘ they will most justly conclude, that such a measure  
 ‘ will render the generality of the people disaffected,  
 ‘ and this, of course, will diminish the weight of  
 ‘ his Majesty’s negotiations abroad, and will make  
 ‘ foreigners much more ready both to insult and in-  
 ‘ vade us, than we can suppose they would otherwise  
 ‘ be.

‘ I will admit, my Lords, that his Majesty has  
 ‘ a power of providing for the safety of the nation,  
 ‘ during the interval of Parliament; but that power  
 ‘ must be very moderately used, and certainly in case  
 ‘ of any sudden danger, the Parliament is to be called  
 ‘ together as soon as possible: If during the recess  
 ‘ of Parliament, it should be discovered that the  
 ‘ nation were threatned with any imminent danger,

his Majesty may immediately issue out the proper and necessary orders for augmenting his forces, both by sea and land, and he may borrow what money may be immediately necessary for that purpose ; but upon any such occasion it is certain, that his Majesty ought, at the same time, to issue a Proclamation, ordering the Parliament to assemble forthwith, and whoever should advise him otherwise, would be to the highest degree criminal, and would deserve the severest punishment. As upon any such occasion the Parliament might meet in a very few weeks, we cannot suppose that any extraordinary sums could be wanted in so short a time : And as his Majesty enjoys the hearts and the affections of the people, their purses will always be open to him upon any emergency, when the danger is apparent, especially when they see the Parliament summoned to meet, from which they may expect immediate reimbursement : Indeed, when pretended and imaginary dangers are invented by ministers, only for their ends, it is not to be supposed that they can borrow much money from the people, without a previous authority from Parliament for doing so : Therefore, as there never can be any occasion for such a previous authority in the time of real danger ; as the granting of such a previous authority can serve only for enabling ministers to load the publick, when there is no real danger to be apprehended ; as the granting of such previous authorities may, some time or other, enable a Prince or minister to overturn our constitution, no such ought ever, in my opinion, to be granted ; but if ever any such is to be granted, it ought to be granted in a regular parliamentary manner, and not in the manner now proposed ; especially when even those that ask for it, in such an extraordinary manner, cannot so much as say that the nation is in any imminent danger.

Earl of  
*Ilay's*  
speech.

The Earl of *Scarborough* spoke next for the question; and then the Earl of *Ilay* spoke in substance thus. ' My Lords, the affair now before us, I take to be an affair of the utmost consequence: It is an affair in which the safety of the nation, and the honour and dignity of the crown are, I think, very deeply concerned; and therefore I am surprised to hear it treated by some Lords in so ludicrous a manner: Such a method of treating any subject ought never, I think, to be made use of or admitted into any of the debates in this house; but is still more improper, when made use of in a debate of so very great consequence as the present.

' Though this nation, my Lords, may not perhaps at this very instant be exposed to any immediate danger; though we are not as yet any way engaged to take a share in the present war, yet it is highly probable that we may, at last, be obliged to engage ourselves, in order to preserve that balance of power upon which the liberties of *Europe*, and consequently the liberties of this nation, absolutely depend; nay, it is certain, that we must at last engage in the war, in case his Majesty cannot, by his authority, and by the weight which his councils may have in foreign courts, oblige the contending parties each to yield up some of their pretensions, and all to submit to the just proposals which he may think proper to make, for restoring the tranquillity of *Europe*. Therefore, my Lords, in order to increase his Majesty's authority, in order to give his councils that weight which they ought always to have in foreign courts, we ought to agree to the proposition now made to us; for if the powers now engaged in war, see that his Majesty has an intire confidence put in him by his Parliament, and that this nation is, in all events, well provided, not only for its defence, but for falling with great vigour upon that power, or that side, which shall by their obstinacy provoke his Majesty's

‘ Majesty’s resentment, it will add a prevailing  
‘ weight to those negotiations which his Majesty  
‘ shall find it necessary to enter into; and thereby  
‘ the balance of power may be preserved, the tran-  
‘ quillity of *Europe* may be restored, without this  
‘ nation’s being at all obliged to take any share in  
‘ the war, and perhaps without laying his Majesty  
‘ under a necessity of making any great use of those  
‘ powers which are now proposed to be granted to  
‘ him: Whereas, if the powers now asked for  
‘ should be refused, it will make foreigners be-  
‘ lieve, that neither the Parliament nor the nation  
‘ can put any great confidence in his Majesty’s  
‘ conduct, and consequently they will have little or  
‘ no regard to any proposition his Majesty may make  
‘ to them; by which this nation will, at last, be ne-  
‘ cessarily drawn into the war, and will thereby be  
‘ exposed to great dangers and many losses, and put  
‘ to an infinite expence.

‘ The eyes of all *Europe* are fixed, my Lords,  
‘ upon the measures to be taken by this nation in  
‘ the present conjuncture; and if either of the par-  
‘ ties now engaged in war, should begin to suspect  
‘ that we were to fall in with the other, to oppose  
‘ any of their designs, or to put a check to the suc-  
‘ cess of their arms, they would immediately, and  
‘ with as much dispatch and secrecy as possible, at-  
‘ tempt to make an invasion upon us, especially if  
‘ they saw that we were no way provided against  
‘ them: These suspicions and jealousies may arise  
‘ without any foundation; they may begin to suspect  
‘ that his Majesty has resolved, and is preparing to  
‘ join against them, before any such resolution be  
‘ really taken, or any preparations made for that  
‘ purpose. It is true, his Majesty may not perhaps  
‘ be obliged to declare himself openly on either side,  
‘ till he has had time to take the advice and as-  
‘ sistance of a new Parliament, and to make proper  
‘ provisions for the defence of the nation; but it is



Earl of  
*Illy*'s  
speech.

The Earl of *Scarborough* spoke next for the question; and then the Earl of *Illy* spoke in substance thus. ‘ My Lords, the affair now before us, I take ‘ to be an affair of the utmost consequence: It is an ‘ affair in which the safety of the nation, and the ‘ honour and dignity of the crown are, I think, very ‘ deeply concerned; and therefore I am surprised to ‘ hear it treated by some Lords in so ludicrous a ‘ manner: Such a method of treating any subject ‘ ought never, I think, to be made use of or admitted into any of the debates in this house; but is still ‘ more improper, when made use of in a debate of ‘ so very great consequence as the present.

‘ Though this nation, my Lords, may not perhaps at this very instant be exposed to any immediate danger; though we are not as yet any way engaged to take a share in the present war, yet it ‘ is highly probable that we may, at last, be obliged ‘ to engage ourselves, in order to preserve that balance of power upon which the liberties of *Europe*, ‘ and consequently the liberties of this nation, absolutely depend; nay, it is certain, that we must at ‘ last engage in the war, in case his Majesty cannot, ‘ by his authority, and by the weight which his ‘ councils may have in foreign courts, oblige the ‘ contending parties each to yield up some of their ‘ pretensions, and all to submit to the just proposals ‘ which he may think proper to make, for restoring ‘ the tranquillity of *Europe*. Therefore, my Lords, ‘ in order to increase his Majesty’s authority, in order to give his councils that weight which they ‘ ought always to have in foreign courts, we ought ‘ to agree to the proposition now made to us; for ‘ if the powers now engaged in war, see that his Majesty has an intire confidence put in him by his ‘ Parliament, and that this nation is, in all events, ‘ well provided, not only for its defence, but for ‘ falling with great vigour upon that power, or that ‘ side, which shall by their obstinacy provoke his ‘ Majesty’s

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‘ should be refused, it will make foreigners be-  
‘ lieve, that neither the Parliament nor the nation  
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‘ upon the measures to be taken by this nation in  
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‘ ties now engaged in war, should begin to suspect  
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‘ any of their designs, or to put a check to the suc-  
‘ cess of their arms, they would immediately, and  
‘ with as much dispatch and secrecy as possible, at-  
‘ tempt to make an invasion upon us, especially if  
‘ they saw that we were no way provided against  
‘ them: These suspicions and jealousies may arise  
‘ without any foundation; they may begin to suspect  
‘ that his Majesty has resolved, and is preparing to  
‘ join against them, before any such resolution be  
‘ really taken, or any preparations made for that  
‘ purpose. It is true, his Majesty may not perhaps  
‘ be obliged to declare himself openly on either side,  
‘ till he has had time to take the advice and as-  
‘ sistance of a new Parliament, and to make proper  
‘ provisions for the defence of the nation; but it is

‘ impossible to foresee how or when some of our  
‘ neighbours may begin to suspect that we have such  
‘ a design, and therefore it is necessary for us im-  
‘ mediately to prepare, at least, to put ourselves in a  
‘ proper posture of defence, and to furnish his Ma-  
‘ jesty with the powers necessary for that purpose.

‘ I am surprised to hear it said, that our neighbours  
‘ will always, even in time of peace, be in as good  
‘ a condition to execute a design suddenly against  
‘ us, as they are at present. In time of peace,  
‘ some few of their forces may, perhaps, be  
‘ quartered upon their sea coasts; but then these  
‘ forces are always, for the convenience of quarters,  
‘ separated and dispersed in such a manner, as to put  
‘ it out of their power to assemble any great number  
‘ at any one place upon their coast, without giving  
‘ us just ground for taking the alarm, and sufficient  
‘ time to provide against them: Whereas, at present,  
‘ they may march a great detachment from their  
‘ army, and that detachment may be arrived at  
‘ a proper place for embarking, before it is possible  
‘ for us to know what rout they have taken, or to  
‘ suspect that they are designed against us. In time  
‘ of peace, their men of war are all laid up in their  
‘ harbours, their seamen are dispersed, and many  
‘ materials are wanting before a large fleet can be  
‘ fitted out; and therefore it is impossible to imagine,  
‘ that any of our neighbours can then be in such  
‘ readiness to make a sudden invasion upon us, as  
‘ they are at present, when most of their ships of  
‘ war are ready fitted out, well manned, and pro-  
‘ vided with every thing necessary for sailing upon  
‘ any expedition.

‘ For these reasons, my Lords, I must conclude,  
‘ that we are now in greater danger of being invaded,  
‘ than we can ever be in time of peace, and if I  
‘ should refuse to grant the powers now asked for, I  
‘ should really think my self criminal: If a servant,  
‘ who knew that his master’s house was in danger of  
‘ being

‘ being attacked by thieves, should leave the doors  
 ‘ open ; in order to give them an easy opportunity  
 ‘ of entering, to murder the family and plunder the  
 ‘ house, I should think such a servant more guilty  
 ‘ than any of the thieves themselves ; and if I  
 ‘ should refuse to give my consent to the resolution  
 ‘ proposed, and an invasion should be afterwards  
 ‘ suddenly made upon us, and this nation thereby  
 ‘ involved in war and confusion, I should look up-  
 ‘ on myself to be in the very case of such a servant,  
 ‘ and therefore guilty of one of the most heinous  
 ‘ crimes that can be committed against my  
 ‘ country.

Earl of *Winchelsea*. ‘ The noble Lords who have Earl of  
Winchel-  
sea's  
speech.  
 ‘ spoke in support of the resolution proposed to us,  
 ‘ have all spoke, as if this nation were no way pro-  
 ‘ vided for its defence ; which really to me, my  
 ‘ Lords, seems to be something very surprizing. I  
 ‘ cannot comprehend what we have been doing in  
 ‘ all the former part of this session of Parliament, if  
 ‘ we have not already provided sufficiently against  
 ‘ any invasion that can be secretly and suddenly made  
 ‘ upon us. Have we not resolved to keep up a very  
 ‘ numerous army of land forces in this island, be-  
 ‘ sides the numerous army kept up in the neighbour-  
 ‘ ing island, which may be brought over upon  
 ‘ any emergency to our assistance ; and from all these  
 ‘ cannot we in a few days form an army of regular  
 ‘ troops ? I am sure much greater than any army of  
 ‘ foreigners that can be sent by surprise to invade us.  
 ‘ Surely, no Lord in this house can imagine, that  
 ‘ so numerous an army must always be kept up in  
 ‘ this island, even in the time of the most profound  
 ‘ tranquillity : Nay, if we were actually engaged  
 ‘ in war, I hope it would not be thought necessary  
 ‘ to keep always such a number of regular forces at  
 ‘ home, in order to guard our own dominions  
 ‘ against invasions ; I hope it would, in such a case,  
 ‘ be

‘ be thought, that we might safely send a great part  
 ‘ of them abroad, in order to carry the war into the  
 ‘ territories of our enemies, otherwise any war we  
 ‘ may hereafter engage in, must become very  
 ‘ chargeable and burthensome to the nation. But  
 ‘ besides the land army we have already provided,  
 ‘ have we not already made a very great addition to  
 ‘ the number of our seamen, and have we not there-  
 ‘ by already enabled his Majesty, to fit out a fleet  
 ‘ much superior to any squadron that can be sent  
 ‘ against us? From all which, I must conclude, my  
 ‘ Lords, that we have already sufficiently provided  
 ‘ for the safety and defence of the nation, against  
 ‘ any sudden and unexpected attack that can be  
 ‘ made upon us; and if his Majesty should think  
 ‘ fit to join either of the parties now engaged in the  
 ‘ war, if any foreign power should declare war  
 ‘ against us, or if any of our neighbours should open-  
 ‘ ly prepare to invade us, his Majesty would have  
 ‘ time enough to call the Parliament together,  
 ‘ and thereby we should have an opportunity of  
 ‘ providing, in a regular Parliamentary way, for  
 ‘ whatever should be thought proper either for offence  
 ‘ or defence.

I hope, my Lords, I shall always be as ready  
 ‘ as any Lord in this house, to put all proper con-  
 ‘ fidence in his Majesty: I am upon the present oc-  
 ‘ casion extremely willing to strengthen his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s hands as much as possible, in order to  
 ‘ add weight to his negotiations, and to enable him  
 ‘ to restore, by his influence, the tranquility of  
 ‘ *Europe*, or to preserve, by his power, the liberties of  
 ‘ *Europe*; but is there no way of preserving the li-  
 ‘ berties of *Europe*, without making a sacrifice of  
 ‘ the liberties of *Great Britain*? Are we, under such  
 ‘ a pretence, to give up the rights of Parliament?  
 ‘ Are we to put an absolute and an unlimited power,  
 ‘ and by such an extraordinary method too, into the  
 ‘ hands of his Majesty’s ministers? No, my Lords,



‘ no such power can ever be necessary ; I hope this  
‘ house will never agree to any such ministerial de-  
‘ mand ; for, the present I must look upon as such :  
‘ I shall always look upon such extensive demands  
‘ as coming from the ministers only ; they may be  
‘ necessary for the protecting of guilty ministers,  
‘ but they can never be necessary for preserving the  
‘ honour or the dignity of the crown.

‘ The King has, no doubt, a power to make  
‘ what treaties, and to enter into what negotiations  
‘ he may think proper ; and if the nation should  
‘ happen to be threatened with any immediate at-  
‘ tack, he may, and I hope always will take the  
‘ proper measures for preventing or defeating that  
‘ attack : In all such cases, it is not to be doubted,  
‘ but the Parliament will approve of what has been  
‘ done, when they come to examine into the mea-  
‘ sures so taken, and find that they were wisely con-  
‘ certed, and necessary for the end proposed ; but if  
‘ the contrary should appear, ; if it should appear  
‘ that dishonourable and inconsistent treaties have  
‘ been concluded ; that ridiculous negotiations have  
‘ been set on foot, and ridiculously carried on ; that  
‘ the nation has been sometimes exposed to dangers  
‘ and insults without any just cause, and often put to  
‘ great expence when no danger could possibly be  
‘ apprehended ; has not the Parliament, in such a  
‘ case, a power ? Are they not in honour, in duty  
‘ to their country, bound to inquire into such mis-  
‘ conduct, and to punish the authors of such knavish  
‘ or such foolish councils ? And shall we, my Lords,  
‘ thus before-hand, approve of whatever negotiations  
‘ or treaties the ministers may be pleased to advise his  
‘ Majesty to enter into or conclude ? Shall we thus  
‘ give an anticipated promise to provide for what-  
‘ ever expence the ministers may pretend to think  
‘ necessary for the nation’s defence ? No ministers  
‘ ought to desire such an implicit faith to be placed

‘ in their future management, and I cannot think  
 ‘ that the present, by their late conduct, deserve any  
 ‘ such extraordinary confidence.

‘ With respect to those who may become credi-  
 ‘ tors of the public, the difference betwixt an anti-  
 ‘ cipated promise and a posterior approbation has  
 ‘ been already fully explained : It has by both sides  
 ‘ been admitted, that the honour of Parliament in  
 ‘ the first case stands engaged to the creditors of the  
 ‘ public, whether the expence incurred may be  
 ‘ thought necessary or not ; but in the last case the  
 ‘ honour of Parliament does not stand engaged, un-  
 ‘ less it appear to them that the expence was neces-  
 ‘ sarily incurred, But I must likewise take notice,  
 ‘ my Lords, that it is the same with respect to any  
 ‘ treaties that may be entered into : When the Par-  
 ‘ liament grants before-hand such full powers as are  
 ‘ at present demanded, the honour of Parliament  
 ‘ stands engaged to see such treaties punctually per-  
 ‘ formed, whether they be consistent with the ho-  
 ‘ nour and interest of the nation or not ; but when  
 ‘ treaties are concluded, without any such full powers  
 ‘ from Parliament, the honour of Parliament is, no  
 ‘ way engaged to perform them, unless they ap-  
 ‘ prove them ; the most that the Parliament or the  
 ‘ nation are in honour obliged to do in that case, is,  
 ‘ to make a sacrifice of those ministers, who en-  
 ‘ gaged their country in such dishonourable or dis-  
 ‘ advantageous treaties ; but in the first case, I do  
 ‘ not see how the nation could get off from the obli-  
 ‘ gation, unless it were by making a sacrifice of all  
 ‘ those members of either house of Parliament, who  
 ‘ consented to the granting of such powers, as well  
 ‘ as of the ministers themselves.

‘ I will agree that the question now before us is  
 ‘ an affair of the utmost consequence ; it is an affair  
 ‘ in which the safety of the nation, and the honour  
 ‘ and dignity of the crown are deeply concerned ;  
 ‘ but I am convinced that the safety of the nation, and  
 ‘ the

‘ the preservation of the honour and dignity of the  
‘ crown, consist in rejecting the proposition now be-  
‘ fore us : In this the safety of the nation certainly  
‘ consists ; because our agreeing to the proposition  
‘ would, in my opinion, be, to bring the nation  
‘ into a real domestic danger, under the pretence of  
‘ providing against a foreign danger, that is either  
‘ altogether imaginary, or so distant, that it may  
‘ easily be provided against without making a sacri-  
‘ fice of our constitution ; and as the honour and dig-  
‘ nity of the crown of *Great Britain* consists in our  
‘ King’s being the King of a free people, therefore  
‘ every thing that may tend to encroach upon the  
‘ freedom of the people, which this proposition di-  
‘ rectly does, must derogate both from the honour  
‘ and the dignity of the crown.

‘ I shall likewise grant, that the present subject  
‘ ought to be treated in the most serious manner : I  
‘ am really sorry to hear such arguments founded  
‘ upon such pretended dangers ; for I may venture  
‘ to prophesy, that if ever the Parliament of *Great*  
‘ *Britain* should come into the practice of raising  
‘ phantoms in the air, as an excuse for their granting  
‘ extraordinary powers to ministers of state, the  
‘ liberties of this nation will then begin to stand upon  
‘ a very precarious footing : They will depend  
‘ intirely upon the ministers for the time being ; if  
‘ they make a right use of the powers granted them,  
‘ our constitution may be, during their time, pre-  
‘ served ; but they may, whenever they please, turn  
‘ those powers towards the overthrow of our con-  
‘ stitution ; and as the future safety of ministers of  
‘ state may, very probably, soon come to depend  
‘ upon the overthrow of our constitution, after our  
‘ liberties come to depend upon such guardians, I  
‘ am afraid they will be but short-lived.

‘ The noble Lord who spoke last told us, that the  
‘ servant who left his master’s door open for the  
‘ thieves to enter and steal, was as criminal as the  
‘ thieves

‘ thieves themselves : In this I agree with him ; but  
 ‘ in the present case, who is the criminal, the  
 ‘ treacherous servant ? We are told, that the nation  
 ‘ is now in no greater danger than it was at the be-  
 ‘ ginning of the session ; therefore we are now either  
 ‘ in no danger, and consequently under no necessity  
 ‘ of granting the powers asked for ; or we were  
 ‘ then in great danger, and the criminal, the  
 ‘ treacherous servant must be he who then knew of  
 ‘ that danger, and yet has concealed it from us ;  
 ‘ has concealed the design and approach of the  
 ‘ thieves, till it is become impossible for us to shut  
 ‘ our doors against them ; till it is become im-  
 ‘ possible for us to guard against the danger from  
 ‘ without, but by exposing our selves to as great  
 ‘ danger from within.’

Lord  
*Hervey's*  
 speech.

Lord *Hervey*. ‘ My Lords, as so much has been  
 ‘ said in favour of this question, by the noble Lords  
 ‘ who have spoke before me in the debate, I shall  
 ‘ give you but a very little trouble on the subject.  
 ‘ I shall suppose, my Lords, that the danger we  
 ‘ may be in is now neither greater nor more im-  
 ‘ minent than it was the very first day of the session ;  
 ‘ yet I think a very good and sufficient reason may  
 ‘ be assigned, for his Majesty's being now obliged  
 ‘ to make an application to his Parliament for far-  
 ‘ ther powers, which he did not think himself under  
 ‘ any necessity to make at the beginning, or during  
 ‘ the continuance of the session.

‘ Tho' this nation was in danger at the beginning  
 ‘ of the session, yet, my Lords, his Majesty did not  
 ‘ think the danger so imminent as to oblige him to  
 ‘ put his people to any greater expence, than what  
 ‘ was at that time proposed, and has been provided  
 ‘ for by Parliament. While the Parliament con-  
 ‘ tinued sitting, his Majesty had no use for any far-  
 ‘ ther power, because, if the danger should have  
 ‘ approached nearer, or should have begun to appear  
 ‘ more

' more formidable, his Majesty could have im-  
 ' mediately applied to his Parliament for farther  
 ' assistance ; but, as an end is soon to be put to this  
 ' session of Parliament, as even the Parliament itself  
 ' will probably soon be dissolved, the danger may  
 ' become more imminent ; it may become more for-  
 ' midable before the next Parliament can meet ; and  
 ' as his Majesty cannot, in that case, immediately  
 ' apply to Parliament for farther assistance, therefore,  
 ' as he always has the quiet and safety of his people  
 ' much at heart, he thinks himself obliged to ask  
 ' for some conditional powers, in order that he may  
 ' be enabled, during the interval of Parliament, to  
 ' do that which the Parliament, if it were sitting,  
 ' would most certainly enable him to do, as soon as  
 ' he thought fit to apply for the same ; that is, to  
 ' make such farther augmentation of his forces, either  
 ' by sea or land, as may be absolutely necessary for  
 ' the honour and defence of his kingdoms, and to  
 ' concert such measures as the exigency of affairs may  
 ' require.

' If the danger, my Lords, had become, or were  
 ' now more imminent or more formidable than it  
 ' appeared at the beginning of the session, his Ma-  
 ' jesty would certainly have applied for an immediate  
 ' augmentation of his forces both by sea and land,  
 ' and for a provision's being made by Parliament  
 ' for that purpose ; and in such a case whatever had  
 ' been done by Parliament must have been done by  
 ' way of bill ; but as there is no necessity for any  
 ' immediate augmentation, his Majesty, willing to  
 ' put off as long as he can, charging his people with  
 ' any new expence, only desires a power to make  
 ' that augmentation, in case it should become ne-  
 ' cessary, at a time when he cannot possibly have  
 ' the immediate assistance of his Parliament. This,  
 ' my Lords, I must think extremely reasonable,  
 ' nay, even absolutely necessary, considering the  
 ' present



‘ present state of the affairs of *Europe* ; and therefore I cannot refuse my consent to the proposition made to us.’

**Question.** The question was then put, and upon a division was carried in the affirmative. Of Lords in the house, there were 76 contents, and 39 not contents ; and of proxies there were 25 contents, and 19 not contents.

Upon this the two following protests were entered upon the journals of the house.

*Die Veneris, 29 Martii, 1734.*

Protests  
relating to  
his Majesty's  
message.

**T**HE order of the day being read, for taking into consideration his Majesty's most gracious message delivered to this house yesterday,

It was moved to resolve, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express the dutiful and grateful sense which this house conceives of his royal care and attention for the honour and security of his kingdoms : To declare their unalterable fidelity to his Majesty, and their earnest desire, that his endeavours for an accomodation may be effectual, and that his Majesty may, in all events, be in a condition to make good such engagements as honour, justice and prudence, may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and that his dominions may not be exposed to any desperate attempts, especially at a time when it may be impossible for the great council of the nation to be immediately convened : To give his Majesty the strongest assurances, that this house will cheerfully support him, in making such farther augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as shall be necessary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms : and in concerting such measures as the exigency of affairs may require ; and to return his  
Majesty

Majesty the thanks of this house for his gracious declaration, that an account of any augmentations made, and services performed, shall be laid before the next Parliament; this house reposing an intire confidence in his Majesty's royal wisdom and paternal concern for the true interests of his people.

Which being objected to, and debate thereupon,

The question was put, Whether such address shall be presented to his Majesty?

Contents	76	} 101	Not Contents	39	} 58
Proxies	25		Proxies	19	

*Dissentient.*

**B**Ecause we are of opinion, that no free people should, on any occasion whatever, vest in any person an unlimited power for an indefinite time; and whenever they do, they at the same time resign their liberty.

<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Ker,</i>
<i>Cobham,</i>	<i>Chesterfield,</i>	<i>Coventry,</i>
<i>Bristol,</i>	<i>Carteret,</i>	<i>Montjoy,</i>
<i>Marchmont,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Foley,</i>
<i>Burlington,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mort. Thanet,</i>	
<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Bedford,</i>
<i>Willoughby de Br.</i>	<i>Weymouth,</i>	<i>Tweeddale,</i>
<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Shaftsbury,</i>	<i>Cardigan,</i>
<i>Clinton,</i>	<i>Grabame,</i>	<i>Craven,</i>
<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Winchelsea and</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Stair,</i>	<i>Nottingham.</i>
<i>Aylesford,</i>		

*Dissentient.*

1. **B**Ecause we conceive an address of this kind, empowering the crown to raise men and money, without specifying the numbers, or the sum, is  
unwar-

unwarranted by any precedent, and is of the most dangerous consequence ; for it seems to us totally to subvert the very foundation of our constitution, the wisdom of our ancestors having provided many regular steps, and solemn forms, for granting supplies to the crown ; whereas this new method, of a sudden address upon a message, at once frustrates and eludes all those wise and ancient precautions.

2. Because the history of several countries, formerly free, furnishes us with many fatal examples of the abuse of such unlimited powers, whenever the estates of those countries have transferred the legislative authority, of raising money, from themselves, by an ill-placed confidence, into the hands of a few. The *Cortes of Spain*, by trusting the power of raising money, without their being assembled, tho' but for one year, and the Estates of *France*, by allowing the aids for the defence of the kingdom, to be raised for three or four years together, without their being summoned to meet, have never been able to retrieve their ancient liberties and constitution ; but by their weak compliance with such a fatal measure, were the unhappy instruments of rendering themselves useless, and of enslaving their respective countries.

3. Because, though we have all possible confidence in his Majesty's wisdom and justice, and all imaginable zeal for the honour and support of his person and government, we cannot approve of a message, which, we are persuaded, was both formed and advised by the same ministers, in whom those extensive and discretionary powers are lodged by this address ; and we see no reason, by any experience of their past œconomy, to trust them with the arbitrary disposal of an unlimited sum, and as little reason, from the success of their former alliances, to give any approbation to past treaties, which have never been communicated to this house, or a previous sanction of any

future treaties they shall contract, especially since, by their multiplicity of negotiations, they have involved the nation in engagements with divers foreign powers, inconsistent (as we conceive) with one another; and, in so great a variety, we can by no means be sure, that the best will be singled out to be fulfilled.

4. Because the present unfortunate situation of the affairs of *Europe*, cannot be represented as unforeseen, or unexpected; since from the gradual progress of our negotiations for some years past, the gradual increase of the disorders and confusions in *Europe* has constantly been foretold. We therefore conceive, that had there not been some secret reason for proceeding in this manner (which reason we will rather pass over in silence, than attempt to point out) the necessary demands of men and money would have been laid before the Parliament at the beginning of the session, according to the ancient and regular usage, and which would as certainly have been granted by a Parliament, which has distinguished itself by a remarkable zeal, duty and liberality to the throne.

5. We cannot think it prudent, in order to extricate ourselves out of our present difficulties, to lodge those unlimited, and (as we apprehend) dangerous powers, in the hands of those very persons, under whose management and conduct these difficulties have been brought upon us; if (as we may conceive) the national debts are hardly lessened by more than twenty years peace; if our successive fleets have proved a terror to no nation, but only a burden to our own; if our great armies have disturbed the minds of none but his Majesty's own subjects; this extensive power of raising money, fleets and armies, seems to us improperly entrusted in the hands of those ministers, who have made no better use of the confidence already reposed in them.

6. We

6. We would, with the utmost zeal, concur in whatever might increase to his Majesty the affections of his people at home, or the respect of his neighbours abroad: But this zeal without knowledge, we think, can tend to neither of those desirable ends, but on the contrary, rather bring contempt (as we apprehend) upon the too easy and implicit faith of Parliaments, than add weight and dignity to those powers we lodge, without any visible reason, in the hands of the ministers.

Gower,	Stair,	Oxford and Mort.
Litchfield,	Clinton,	Marchmont,
Bathurst,	Shaftsbury,	Strafford,
Boyle,	Bedford,	Carteret,
Chesterfield,	Berkshire,	Ker,
Foley,	Northampton,	Coventry,
Bristol,	Thanet,	Montjoy,
Grabame,	Craven,	Cardigan,
Winchelsea and	Cobham,	Weymouth,
Nottingham,	Aylesford,	Willoughby de Br.
Tweedale,	Montrose,	

THE same day, to wit, on *Thursday* the 28th of *March*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* acquainted the house of Commons, that he had a message from his Majesty to that house, signed by his Majesty, which he presented; and the same being read by Mr. Speaker, was in the words following, viz.

#### GEORGE R.

His Majesty's message to the house of Commons.

*HIS Majesty very thankfully acknowledges the zeal and affection which this house has shewn, by the early dispatch they have already made in the necessary supplies for the public service, which his Majesty recommended to their immediate care at the opening of this session.*

But



*But the war which has broke out in Europe still unhappily continuing, his Majesty has nothing more at heart, than to see that flame extinguished, and to avoid, if possible, the engaging his subjects in the hazards and expence of a war; being at the same time desirous, neither to give any just alarm to other nations, nor to subject himself to any unprovoked insults.*

*In this view, and to the end that his Majesty's endeavours, in conjunction with his allies, for procuring an accommodation, may in due time have the desired effect; and that his Majesty may be in a condition to make good such engagements, as honour, justice and prudence, may call upon him to fulfil or contract; and that his kingdoms may not be left exposed to any desperate attempts, during such time, as it may be impossible for his Majesty to have the immediate advice and assistance of his great council, upon any emergency arising from the present posture of affairs in Europe, which may nearly concern the interest and safety of these kingdoms: His Majesty hopes that he shall be enabled and supported by his Parliament, in making such farther augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land, as may be absolutely necessary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms, and in concerting such measures as the exigency of affairs may require. Whatever expence shall be thereby occasioned, shall be made in as frugal a manner as possible; and an account thereof shall be laid before the next Parliament.*

Then Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* stood up Motion<sup>d</sup> and moved, that the message should be taken into consideration next day.

Upon which *William Shippen*, Esq; stood up, and Mr. Ship<sup>p</sup> spoke as follows, viz. ‘ When I reflect, Sir, upon *pen's* what happened in this house the very first day of speech, this session, I am a good deal surpris’d at a message of this nature, and the more, that it is now brought in upon us at the very end of a session, and that

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' session, I suppose, the last of a long Parliament.  
 ' I remember that I, as well as some other gentle-  
 ' med, took exception at some words proposed to be  
 ' in our address, in answer to his Majesty's speech  
 ' from the throne at the opening of this session, be-  
 ' cause they seemed to bear something like a pro-  
 ' mise of a vote of credit; upon which occasion the  
 ' honourable gentleman who has made you this mo-  
 ' tion, and his friends, pretended to be greatly asto-  
 ' nished at our sagacity, and seemed, as I then  
 ' thought, to give us assurances that nothing of that  
 ' kind should be asked for, in this session of Parlia-  
 ' ment.

' I must confess, Sir, I had some sort of depen-  
 ' dence upon what they said; but as they were only  
 ' the words and promises of ministers of state, in  
 ' which I never had any great faith, I begin now to  
 ' be ashamed even of that little confidence I put in  
 ' them. I do not know indeed, but that they may  
 ' now find an excuse for their breach of promise in  
 ' this respect; for I must grant, that what they now  
 ' ask for, is not properly a vote of credit, it is an  
 ' absolute surrender of all we have in the world.  
 ' This, indeed, is laying the ax to the root of the  
 ' tree, and may prevent our being ever troubled  
 ' with any demands, for the future: But as this is an  
 ' affair of the greatest consequence to the whole na-  
 ' tion, as well as to the gentlemen now in this house,  
 ' I hope some longer time will be given to gentle-  
 ' men, to consider of such an extraordinary demand,  
 ' before they be obliged to determine what they are  
 ' to do; for if they once agree to such a grant, it  
 ' may be generously and voluntarily restored, but it  
 ' will never be in their power to resume it.

' When we come to take the message into our  
 ' consideration, I do not doubt, Sir, but the honour-  
 ' able gentleman who brought it us, will not only  
 ' give us the reasons, why it became necessary for  
 ' his Majesty to send us such a message, but will  
 ' likewise

‘ likewise tell us, why it was so long of being sent ;  
 ‘ and therefore I shall not till then so much suspect  
 ‘ his candour, as to think that there was any unfair  
 ‘ design in delaying it, till so many gentlemen are  
 ‘ gone to the country ; but as it has been so long de-  
 ‘ layed, I hope some few days will be granted before  
 ‘ we take it into consideration, that some of those  
 ‘ gentlemen, at least, who are gone into the coun-  
 ‘ try, may have time to return : I shall not pretend  
 ‘ to name any day ; but if the honourable gentleman  
 ‘ will be so good as to withdraw his motion, I doubt  
 ‘ not of some other gentleman’s rising up to propose  
 ‘ some more distant day.’

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ I have not Sir Robert  
 ‘ forgot, Sir, what passed in this house the first day *Walpole’s*  
 ‘ of the session : I remember that some gentlemen *speech.*  
 ‘ did then take exceptions to some expressions in the  
 ‘ address proposed, as if a promise of a vote of cre-  
 ‘ dit was couched under these expressions : And upon  
 ‘ that occasion, I might, for one, take the liberty to  
 ‘ assure the house, that no such use should be made,  
 ‘ or was intended to be made, of any expression then  
 ‘ proposed to be put into our address. This, I re-  
 ‘ member, was what I said, and I said no more :  
 ‘ Nor can I believe, that any more was said by any  
 ‘ gentleman in this house ; for as the necessity of  
 ‘ demanding votes of credit, depends upon future  
 ‘ events, it would have been ridiculous for any gentle-  
 ‘ man to have pretended to have promised that no  
 ‘ such thing should be desired.

‘ As to the message itself, it is not now proper to  
 ‘ enter into the merits of it, or into the causes which  
 ‘ have produced it ; but in all the time I have had  
 ‘ the honour to sit in Parliament, I remember no in-  
 ‘ stance, where a message signed by the King has  
 ‘ not been next day taken into consideration : This  
 ‘ is a respect which has been always paid to the  
 ‘ crown, and I am sure his present Majesty has never

‘ done any thing, to merit less respect being paid by  
 ‘ the Parliament to him, than what has been paid to  
 ‘ all his predecessors: I am persuaded, when we  
 ‘ come to enter into the merits of the message, there  
 ‘ can be no reason found, for making a distinction  
 ‘ between this and former messages of the like na-  
 ‘ ture; and the necessity of sending it at this conjunc-  
 ‘ ture will be made fully appear; therefore, as I have  
 ‘ already moved, I hope the house will take it into  
 ‘ consideration to-morrow morning.

Sir Will.  
*Wyndham*  
 his speech.

Sir *William Wyndham*. ‘ I must own, Sir, my  
 ‘ surprise is as great as my worthy friend’s, that a  
 ‘ message of this nature, should be sent to this house,  
 ‘ so near the close of this session; for whatever pro-  
 ‘ mises were, or were not made, the first day of the  
 ‘ session, I am very sure, that most gentlemen ex-  
 ‘ pected that every thing of consequence had been  
 ‘ over long before this time; and upon this general  
 ‘ presumption, a great many gentlemen, who have  
 ‘ not the honour to be let into ministerial secrets, are  
 ‘ gone into the country, it being at present more ne-  
 ‘ cessary, perhaps, than usual, for such gentlemen  
 ‘ to return to their respective countries, in order to  
 ‘ prevent their being bought and jobbed out of that  
 ‘ natural interest, by which only they can expect to  
 ‘ enjoy the honour of representing their country in  
 ‘ Parliament: But however necessary their presence  
 ‘ there may be at this time, yet, if time be allow-  
 ‘ ed them, I doubt not but most of them, will  
 ‘ think it their duty, to return to the service of  
 ‘ their country in this house, when they hear that  
 ‘ a matter of so very great importance is to come  
 ‘ before us: It is, I think, Sir, a matter of the  
 ‘ highest importance: It is, as my worthy friend  
 ‘ called it, an absolute surrender of our all; a sur-  
 ‘ render of the rights, and a delegating the power of  
 ‘ Parliament to the crown: This absolute power, it  
 ‘ is true, is now demanded but till next session of

‘ Par-

Parliament ; but if it were not for the great confidence I repose in his present Majesty, I should be much afraid the next session would never be allowed to meet, unless upon the new election, a majority of the members should appear to be such, as would be ready to confirm or to renew that surrender.

The hon. gentleman on the floor has told us, that it has always been usual to shew so much respect to the crown, as to take such messages as the present into our consideration the very next day, and that he remembers no instance to the contrary : 'Tis true, Sir, since I have sat in Parliament, I remember many, but too many, messages something of this nature ; and I believe they have always been taken into consideration the next day ; but that did not proceed so much from the respect we owe to the crown, as from the cause of sending the message : There never was a message of this kind sent from the crown, but when the nation was threatened with some such thing as an immediate invasion or insurrection, which in the body of the message was expressed to be the reason or cause of sending such a message ; and as in such cases the near approach of the danger required the immediate concerting of proper measures to prevent it, we may suppose that this was the chief reason of their being so immediately taken into consideration by this house : But as we are generally apt to improve upon bad precedents, I will be bold to say, there never was such a message sent to Parliament as the present, either with respect to its nature, to the reason of sending it, or to the time of its being sent. By no message that was ever sent to Parliament, was there an absolute and an unlimited power demanded by the crown ; which to every gentleman must appear, at first sight, to be the demand now made upon us : There was never such a message sent to Parliament,



‘ but what informed us of some immediate danger  
 ‘ impending, and just ready to fall upon the nation;  
 ‘ by the present message we are told of no such thing,  
 ‘ nor do I believe that any such thing can be pre-  
 ‘ tended: And I remember no instance of a message  
 ‘ any way resembling this, that was ever sent to this  
 ‘ house at the very end of a session, and that session  
 ‘ the last of a Parliament.

‘ I cannot indeed, Sir, form to myself a reason  
 ‘ why any such message should have been at all  
 ‘ sent, and much less can I form a reason why it  
 ‘ should have been sent at such a remarkable time;  
 ‘ and therefore I must think that gentlemen will cer-  
 ‘ tainly expect to be informed, by those who are  
 ‘ able to inform them, what necessity there was for  
 ‘ this message, and from what sudden and, till now,  
 ‘ unforeseen change in our affairs, the sending of  
 ‘ such a message has now become more necessary,  
 ‘ than it was at any time during the former part of  
 ‘ the session: But whatever may be told us as to this  
 ‘ particular, considering that almost one half of the  
 ‘ house are, for reasons we all know, retired to the  
 ‘ country; in decency, I think, and out of regard  
 ‘ to our own proceedings, as well as out of respect  
 ‘ to the crown, whatever is to be done in conse-  
 ‘ quence of this message, ought to be done in a full  
 ‘ house. Whether you should order a call, or, which  
 ‘ may be a shorter and a more effectual method, di-  
 ‘ rect letters to the sheriffs, I shall leave to gentle-  
 ‘ men to determine; but one of the two ought cer-  
 ‘ tainly to be done, unless the hon. gentleman who  
 ‘ brought us the message, will rise up and inform us  
 ‘ of some imminent danger we are now threatened  
 ‘ with; and even in that case, I think some few  
 ‘ days ought to be allowed, that those gentlemen,  
 ‘ at least, who are at no great distance, may have  
 ‘ time to come up, and attend the service of the  
 ‘ house upon this important occasion; otherwise it  
 ‘ will look like stealing a resolution of the house,

‘ when gentlemen’s backs are turned ; which, I am  
 ‘ sure, can testify no great respect to the crown.

‘ Sir, if we are really threatned with any imme-  
 ‘ diate danger, I shall propose the taking of this  
 ‘ message into our consideration on *Monday* or *Tues-*  
 ‘ *day* next ; and I am sure, let the necessity be never  
 ‘ so pressing, let the danger be never so great, so  
 ‘ short a delay can be attended with no great incon-  
 ‘ venience ; and whatever resolution you may come  
 ‘ to, it will carry the greater weight, and will be  
 ‘ the more effectual for obviating any impending  
 ‘ danger.’

Sir *William Yonge*. ‘ I remember, Sir, no pro- Sir *Will.*  
 ‘ mises or assurances given the first day of the session, *Yonge’s*  
 ‘ other than those which the hon. gentleman by me *speech.*  
 ‘ has fully and rightly stated to you ; and, as no gen-  
 ‘ tleman has drawn, or I believe, will draw any  
 ‘ argument in favour of the present question, from  
 ‘ any words or expressions in the address then agreed  
 ‘ to, I do not think that either the promises then  
 ‘ made, or the assurances then given, can have any  
 ‘ relation to the present debate : But gentlemen are  
 ‘ very apt, I find, to wander from the affair in hand,  
 ‘ and in particular the hon. gentleman who spoke  
 ‘ last, has entered a good deal into the merits of the  
 ‘ question, which I cannot think either proper or  
 ‘ necessary at present ; for, in my opinion, all that  
 ‘ is now before us, is, Whether we should take the  
 ‘ message into our consideration to-morrow, or put  
 ‘ it off for a longer day ; and therefore I shall con-  
 ‘ fine myself intirely to this, without anticipating  
 ‘ your future debate, with relation to the message  
 ‘ itself.

‘ As to the question now before us, the hon. gen-  
 ‘ tleman who spoke last owns, that he knows of no  
 ‘ message from the crown that was ever sent to Par-  
 ‘ liament, but what was next day taken into confi-  
 ‘ deration ; and by this, I really think, he seems to

‘ give up the question ; but then he has endeavoured  
 ‘ to make a distinction between this message and  
 ‘ those formerly sent by the crown to Parliament :  
 ‘ Whether any such distinction can be made or not,  
 ‘ is, in my opinion, a question that cannot be re-  
 ‘ solved, till we come to take the message into our  
 ‘ consideration ; and then, I believe, every gentle-  
 ‘ man in this house will see, that there is no material  
 ‘ difference between this and former messages of the  
 ‘ like nature.

‘ As to the time of sending this message, it is  
 ‘ certain, that the crown never does send such mes-  
 ‘ sages but when some exigency of affairs in a man-  
 ‘ ner forces them to do so : It is always the necessi-  
 ‘ ties of state that oblige the crown to ask for any  
 ‘ extraordinary powers from Parliament ; and whe-  
 ‘ ther the necessity for asking for such powers, falls  
 ‘ out early or late in a session, or in the first or last  
 ‘ session of a Parliament, seems not material : It is  
 ‘ by the necessity there is for granting such powers,  
 ‘ that gentlemen are to be induced to grant the  
 ‘ powers demanded, and not by any consideration,  
 ‘ as to the time of making the demand. And as  
 ‘ it cannot appear to us, whether the necessity for  
 ‘ granting what is now asked for be urgent or not,  
 ‘ till we have taken the message into consideration ;  
 ‘ as it cannot till then appear, whether the shortest  
 ‘ delay may not be attended with great inconve-  
 ‘ niences ; therefore, the sooner it is taken into con-  
 ‘ sideration the better ; for which reason I must  
 ‘ think, that the motion made by the honourable  
 ‘ gentleman near me, for taking it into consideration  
 ‘ to-morrow morning, is a proper and a right mo-  
 ‘ tion : And whoever has a mind to shew us the  
 ‘ contrary, will, I hope, confine himself to that  
 ‘ only, without entering into the merits of the que-  
 ‘ stion.’

Sir *John Barnard*. ‘ The hon. gentleman who spoke last has been pleased, Sir, to find fault with my worthy friend by me, for entering, as he called it, into the merits of the question; but that gentleman ought to consider, that there is a very great difference between speaking to the nature of a question, and entering into the merits of it. My worthy friend spoke, indeed, as to the nature of the message now before us; and I would gladly know from the hon. gentleman over the way, or any other, how it is possible to speak to the present question, as to the necessity of its being taking into consideration to-morrow, without explaining a little the nature of what is to be taken into consideration; but no gentleman has as yet entered into the merits of the message, which I take to be, Whether it ought to be complied with or not?’

‘ I hope neither the hon. gentleman, nor any other gentleman, will lay it down as an infallible and unalterable rule, that this house is to take every message immediately into their consideration, that may be hereafter brought from the crown; and if we have any liberty in this respect, surely we must examine a little into the nature of the message sent us, in order to determine, whether we are immediately to take the message into our consideration, or defer it to a longer day. If upon the face of the message it had appeared, if his Majesty had thereby so much as insinuated, that the nation had been in any immediate danger, I should have readily agreed to the motion now made to us; but, as no such thing is insinuated, nor can, I believe, be supposed, I cannot think there is any necessity for our entering so immediately into the consideration of a question of so great importance; it may perhaps be the last question that can ever be taken into consideration by a legal and free Parliament of *Great Britain*; and therefore, I think,

‘ it

‘ it is extremely reasonable to give a few days to  
 ‘ those gentlemen, who are here, to consider of it,  
 ‘ and that those who are absent, at least such of  
 ‘ them as are near the town, may have time to re-  
 ‘ turn.’

The Lord *Coleraine* spoke next, against the mo-  
 tion ; and then,

Mr. *Plum-*  
*mer's*  
 speech.

*Walter Plummer, Esq;* ‘ Sir, I shall always be  
 ‘ as ready as any gentleman in this house, to concur  
 ‘ on all occasions in strengthening the hands of the  
 ‘ crown in a proper manner, and when it shall ap-  
 ‘ pear necessary ; but, as the powers now demanded  
 ‘ are of a most extraordinary nature ; as the granting  
 ‘ of them will certainly be a giving up, in a great  
 ‘ measure, the power of Parliament for a time ; if  
 ‘ we are to make such a grant, I think it ought not  
 ‘ to be precipitately made. It ought to be done  
 ‘ with the greatest caution, and in as full a house as  
 ‘ can possibly be had.

‘ As to the respect we ought to shew to the crown,  
 ‘ it has nothing to do with the present question : Our  
 ‘ respect to the crown, Sir, has nothing to do with  
 ‘ this message, or any message that can come from  
 ‘ the crown ; for though they bear the King’s name,  
 ‘ yet when we come to consider them in this house,  
 ‘ we are to look upon them as coming from the  
 ‘ ministers ; and we may treat them in such a manner  
 ‘ as we think they deserve, without encroaching, in  
 ‘ the least, upon that respect we owe to the crown.  
 ‘ Are we to be told, that, out of respect to the  
 ‘ crown, we must always take such messages imme-  
 ‘ diately into our consideration ? Sir, if this doctrine  
 ‘ should prevail, we shall next be told, that out of  
 ‘ respect to the crown, we ought always to comply  
 ‘ with such messages ; and then it will be in the  
 ‘ power of the ministers to advise the crown to send  
 ‘ such messages, as may be very dishonourable for  
 ‘ the



‘ the Parliament to comply with, nay, inconsistent  
 ‘ with the real interest of the crown, however ne-  
 ‘ cessary they may be for the purposes of the ministers  
 ‘ at the time.

‘ By the law of *England*, Sir, we know, that  
 ‘ when a man is a dying, and about to make his will,  
 ‘ if any real estate is thereby to be devised, the will  
 ‘ must be made before three witnesses, which is a  
 ‘ greater number than is necessary upon any other  
 ‘ occasion: We are, Sir, a dying Parliament, and  
 ‘ the crown now desires we should make our will,  
 ‘ and leave them by way of legacy all we have in  
 ‘ the world: If we are to do so, I think we ought  
 ‘ to call, at least, as many witnesses as are usual  
 ‘ upon most other occasions; and therefore we ought  
 ‘ to delay the consideration of this message, till the  
 ‘ absent members have time to return.’

The question, for taking the message next day Question  
 into consideration, was then put, and, upon a divi- put.  
 sion was carried in the affirmative, by 211 to 121.

Next day the said message was accordingly taken  
 into consideration, when

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* stood up, and Sir Robert  
 spoke as follows, *viz.* ‘ As I had the honour, Sir, Walpole’s  
 ‘ to bring his Majesty’s most gracious message to speech and  
 ‘ this house, and likewise to move for your taking motion.  
 ‘ it this day under your consideration, I think it in-  
 ‘ cumbent on me to offer what I judge to be proper,  
 ‘ adviseable, and even becoming this house to do  
 ‘ upon it. The manner, Sir, in which his Majesty’s  
 ‘ speech, at the opening of the session, was conceived;  
 ‘ the difference that was observable in it from for-  
 ‘ mer speeches; the notice thereby giving by his  
 ‘ Majesty to Parliament, of the situation of affairs  
 ‘ abroad, must have made every gentleman, who  
 ‘ heard it, expect, that something of this nature  
 ‘ might

‘ might possibly come before you some time this  
‘ session. His Majesty in that speech told us, that  
‘ the war which had begun in *Europe* still continued ;  
‘ and though his Majesty then declared, that he had  
‘ no part, except by his good offices, in those trans-  
‘ actions, which had been declared to be the princi-  
‘ pal causes and motives of the war, yet, I believe,  
‘ there was not a gentleman in the house but sup-  
‘ posed, that his Majesty might possibly be obliged  
‘ to take a share in the war, in order to prevent too  
‘ much power’s being thrown into one scale, whereby  
‘ the balance of power in *Europe* would be over-  
‘ turned ; and consequently every gentleman must  
‘ have expected such a message as this, in case the  
‘ tranquility of *Europe* could not, by way of nego-  
‘ tiation, be restored before the end of this session.

‘ When gentlemen expect, Sir, to hear reasons  
‘ given why this message comes now, and was not  
‘ brought sooner, and seem to insinuate, as if this  
‘ must proceed from some sudden and unforeseen  
‘ change in affairs, all I can answer is, that we are  
‘ now in the same situation we were in at the open-  
‘ ing of the session ; some little variation may per-  
‘ haps have happened, but our circumstances are in  
‘ general the same ; and their remaining so is, in my  
‘ poor opinion, a sufficient reason for his Majesty’s  
‘ making this application to his Parliament, and for  
‘ our coming to such a resolution as I shall, by and  
‘ by, have the honour to move to you : If any ex-  
‘ traordinary change had happened in the affairs of  
‘ *Europe*, or with respect to our own particular cir-  
‘ cumstances, during the continuance of the session,  
‘ his Majesty could immediately, and without any  
‘ delay, have applied to his Parliament, for what  
‘ was proper to be done upon such an occasion ; but  
‘ as the war still continues, no man can pretend to  
‘ foresee what changes may soon happen, or how  
‘ soon his Majesty, in conjunction with his allies,  
‘ may

‘ may be obliged to give assistance, where the interest  
‘ of this nation, and the preservation of the liberties  
‘ of *Europe* may call immediately for it ; and as this  
‘ session of parliament is drawing towards a close,  
‘ and as this Parliament may probably be soon dissolved, his Majesty will not then have the opportunity of applying immediately to his Parliament, for what may appear to be necessary for the defence of the nation, in case any change should happen during the interval of Parliament ; which makes it absolutely necessary to furnish his Majesty with such powers as are now asked for, before this session breaks up ; and the furnishing him now with such a power, cannot be in the least more inconvenient for the nation, than it would have been at the beginning of the session.

‘ Ever since the beginning of this session, his Majesty, in conjunction with other powers, has been endeavouring, by negotiation, to reconcile the jarring interests of the several powers now at war, and to restore the tranquillity of *Europe* ; if these negotiations had succeeded, there would have been no occasion for this message, there would have been no occasion for putting this nation to any additional expence ; and though these negotiations have not yet had the desired effect, yet his Majesty’s proposals are not altogether rejected, which makes it still unnecessary to put the nation to any immediate expence : This shews his Majesty’s tender care for his people, as well as the wisdom and integrity of those he is pleased to advise with upon such occasions. It shews how unwilling he is to put the nation to any extraordinary expence, as long as it can possibly be avoided ; but the great concern his Majesty has for the peace and quiet of his people, and the uncertainty in which the affairs of *Europe* still continue, lays his Majesty now under a necessity of thus desiring his Parliament to strengthen his hands in such a manner, as that he  
‘ may

‘ may be able to provide against any the most distant  
‘ dangers, with which this nation may happen to be  
‘ threatned, after the end of this, and before the  
‘ meeting of a new Parliament.

‘ If gentlemen will but consider the present cir-  
‘ cumstances of *Europe* in general, and of that nation  
‘ in particular, from the situation of whose country  
‘ we must always have most to fear, I believe the  
‘ necessity of the motion I am to make will pretty  
‘ evidently appear. *France* has now a large fleet  
‘ assembled in one of those ports which lies nearest  
‘ to this island: The ships are all fitted out, and al-  
‘ most ready to put to sea; and there are, as we are  
‘ told, several thousand men ready to be shipped on  
‘ board that fleet. I believe, Sir, there is nothing  
‘ designed against us; but when we know that a  
‘ large squadron of *French* men of war, with an army  
‘ of six or eight thousand veteran troops, is to pass  
‘ through the *British* channel, I should think, one  
‘ in the station in which I have the honour so un-  
‘ worthily to serve the crown, did his duty but very  
‘ ill, if, upon such an occasion, he did not advise  
‘ the taking of all necessary care, for putting the  
‘ nation in a proper posture of defence.

‘ I repeat it again, Sir, I do sincerely believe,  
‘ that the nation is in safety; but I do not desire that  
‘ the safety of the nation should intirely depend on  
‘ my belief; I have, I think, good reason to be-  
‘ lieve that the *French* squadron is designed else-  
‘ where; but if, from new counsels, from any jea-  
‘ lously groundlessly conceived, or any sudden change  
‘ in their measures, that squadron should come this  
‘ way, I must say, that in our present situation I do  
‘ not know what the consequence might be; and  
‘ therefore I must think, that those who have the  
‘ honour to advise the King, have done their duty  
‘ in advising him to make this application to Par-  
‘ liament. Though we are not yet engaged in the  
‘ war, though no power in *Europe* has yet openly  
‘ declared

declared against us, yet the present circumstances of *Europe* are such, the present circumstances of this nation are such, that, I believe, I might leave the question to rest wholly upon them; and I am convinced that no gentleman, who considers them impartially, can refuse agreeing to what his Majesty has, by his most gracious message, desired.

His Majesty is not willing to alarm any foreign power, by making an unnecessary augmentation of his forces, either by sea or land; but he desires to have a power, at least, of providing against any unprovoked insults: He is resolved not to put the nation to any unnecessary expence; but he desires not to disoblige his allies, he desires not to give them a mean opinion of this nation, by our not putting ourselves in such a condition, as to be able to perform all our engagements to them. This is all the power his Majesty asks for, and this power, we may depend on it, will not be wantonly used, or used at all, unless the necessity of our affairs require it: From the whole of his Majesty's past conduct, from the conduct of those who have the honour to advise him, we may expect, that a backwardness, rather than a forwardness will be shewed, in putting the nation to any expence, or engaging it in any unnecessary broils.

His Majesty, Sir, desires only a power of providing what may appear to be absolutely necessary for the defence of the nation, during the interval of Parliament, when he cannot have their advice or assistance, with this assurance, that every thing that shall be done in pursuance of that power, shall be laid before next Parliament for their approbation; to them he promises, that a full account shall be rendered of the temporary trust reposed in the crown. What danger then can there be in granting the power now asked for? Can it be presumed, that any minister will dare to make,

or



‘ or advise his Majesty to make a bad use of it,  
 ‘ when so strict an account must be rendered to next  
 ‘ Parliament, of every use that shall be made of it;  
 ‘ yet this is what gentlemen have been pleased to  
 ‘ call a surrendering the rights, a delegating the  
 ‘ power of Parliament to the crown, and a laying  
 ‘ the ax to the root of the tree : They have likewise  
 ‘ been pleased to insinuate, as if it were the servants  
 ‘ of the crown that desired to have more power  
 ‘ granted to them. Sir, as I am one of the ser-  
 ‘ vants of the crown, I can answer for myself, that  
 ‘ I desire no power ; I know the danger too well of  
 ‘ making use of any power but that which has the  
 ‘ sanction of Parliament ; and wherever I am in-  
 ‘ trusted with any such power, I shall always be  
 ‘ ready to account to Parliament for the use I make  
 ‘ of it.

‘ It is true, Sir, the powers now asked for may  
 ‘ occasion a farther expence to this nation ; but  
 ‘ whatever expence may, in pursuance of such  
 ‘ powers, be incurred, does not his Majesty, in the  
 ‘ message now before us, promise that it shall be  
 ‘ fully and particularly accounted for to next Parlia-  
 ‘ ment ; and if any part of that expence shall appear  
 ‘ to have been unnecessarily incurred, may not we  
 ‘ expect that the next Parliament will severely punish  
 ‘ those who have been the authors of such unnecessary  
 ‘ expence. There is nothing contained in the mes-  
 ‘ sage, which can in the least tend to excuse those  
 ‘ who shall dare to give such wicked counsel to his  
 ‘ Majesty ; and in the motion I am to make, I shall  
 ‘ endeavour to express myself in such a manner, as  
 ‘ to obviate any objection that can be made upon  
 ‘ that account. His Majesty desires only a power  
 ‘ to make such farther augmentation of his forces,  
 ‘ either by sea or land, as may be absolutely neces-  
 ‘ sary for the honour and defence of his kingdoms,  
 ‘ and to concert such measures as the exigency of af-  
 ‘ fairs may require ; and when we see his Majesty

‘ expressing himself so cautiously in the message he  
 ‘ has been pleased to send us, can we suppose that  
 ‘ any minister will be hardy enough to advise him,  
 ‘ or that he will allow himself to be advised to put  
 ‘ the nation to any expence, that shall not plainly  
 ‘ appear to be absolutely necessary ?

‘ Now, Sir, let us see whether the message now  
 ‘ before us, or the powers that are thereby demanded,  
 ‘ are so extraordinary or so unprecedented as  
 ‘ some gentlemen have been pleased to represent.  
 ‘ Though I am no great master of precedents, though  
 ‘ I never look into them but when I have immediate  
 ‘ occasion for them, yet I have got three or four  
 ‘ in my hand, which I take to be exactly parallel to  
 ‘ the case now before us. In 1702, her late Ma-  
 ‘ jesty *Queen Anne* sent a message to this house, ac-  
 ‘ quainting them with the then situation of affairs  
 ‘ abroad ; and upon that message, this house, by an  
 ‘ address, gave her Majesty the same sort of powers  
 ‘ as are now asked for. In 1715, his late Majesty  
 ‘ sent a message to this house, acquainting them of  
 ‘ the danger the nation was in, from insurrections at  
 ‘ home, and likewise from intended invasions from  
 ‘ abroad, in favour of the Pretender ; and the same  
 ‘ very powers now asked for, were granted by an  
 ‘ address of this house to his late Majesty. In 1718,  
 ‘ during the *Spanish* war, that power was again  
 ‘ renewed to his late Majesty ; and in 1725, the  
 ‘ same powers were again given to the crown, both  
 ‘ in the same method ; and therefore it cannot be  
 ‘ said, that what is now proposed is either new or  
 ‘ unprecedented. It is what has often been  
 ‘ practised, and what must always be practised,  
 ‘ when the nation happens to be threatened with any  
 ‘ danger.

‘ I am afraid, Sir, I have already taken up too  
 ‘ much of your time, and therefore I shall now add  
 ‘ no more ; but if any material objections be made  
 ‘ to what I am to propose, I hope that the house

‘ will again indulge me, to make such answers to  
 ‘ them as I may then think of, or that some other  
 ‘ gentleman, who may perhaps be of the same  
 ‘ opinion with me, and better able to answer such  
 ‘ objections than I am, will rise up and do it:  
 ‘ Therefore I shall only beg leave to make you the  
 ‘ following motion.

‘ That an humble address be presented to his  
 ‘ Majesty, to declare the duty and fidelity of this  
 ‘ house to his Majesty, and the intire confidence  
 ‘ which they repose in his royal care and en-  
 ‘ deavours for the security of his kingdoms, and for  
 ‘ restoring the peace of *Europe*; to express the just  
 ‘ sense they have of his Majesty’s attention to the  
 ‘ true interest of his people, in previously taking  
 ‘ the advice and concurrence of this house at this  
 ‘ critical conjuncture, in order to make the neces-  
 ‘ sary preparations against any emergencies arising  
 ‘ from the present posture of affairs in *Europe*,  
 ‘ especially during the interval of Parliament; to  
 ‘ desire his Majesty to make such augmentation of  
 ‘ his forces, by sea or land, as his Majesty in his great  
 ‘ wisdom shall judge necessary, and to concert such  
 ‘ measures as the exigency of affairs shall require:  
 ‘ This house not doubting but that his Majesty will  
 ‘ find, that his faithful Commons will at all times,  
 ‘ when the accounts shall be laid before them, of the  
 ‘ extraordinary expences incurred by his Majesty,  
 ‘ for the honour, interest, and defence of his king-  
 ‘ doms, effectually enable his Majesty to answer and  
 ‘ make good the same.’

Mr. Ship-  
 pen’s  
 speech.

*William Shippen, Esq;* ‘ I am glad to find, Sir,  
 ‘ that the honourable gentleman has now discovered  
 ‘ a meaning in his Majesty’s speech at the opening  
 ‘ of this session, which he could not, it seems, dis-  
 ‘ cover the first day of the session: He was, or pre-  
 ‘ tended at least to be, so far from discovering, at  
 ‘ that time, any such meaning in his Majesty’s speech

‘ as he has now shewed to us, that he seemed very  
 ‘ much surpris’d any gentleman should have the least  
 ‘ apprehensions of such a meaning. I, as well as  
 ‘ several gentlemen round me, remember well the  
 ‘ gentleman’s very words upon that occasion ; I re-  
 ‘ member, when I intimated then to the house my  
 ‘ fears, that some such thing as a vote of credit was  
 ‘ intended, he said, he believed no man alive but  
 ‘ myself could dream of any such thing ; but now  
 ‘ we are told, that from his Majesty’s manner of ex-  
 ‘ pressing himself upon that occasion, every gentle-  
 ‘ man in the house must have expected a demand of  
 ‘ such a nature as what is now before us : I did in-  
 ‘ deed, from what his Majesty said, expect a demand  
 ‘ for a vote of credit ; but I little expected that that  
 ‘ demand would have been attended with such other  
 ‘ extraordinary demands, as are contained in the  
 ‘ message now under consideration.

‘ As no sufficient time has been given, Sir, for  
 ‘ gentlemen to consider of this extraordinary de-  
 ‘ mand from the crown ; as no information has been  
 ‘ given us by the honourable gentleman who spoke  
 ‘ last, from whom, I believe, every gentleman in  
 ‘ this house, expected a full information, with respect  
 ‘ to the reasons which the crown may have for  
 ‘ making such a demand ; gentlemen like me, who  
 ‘ are kept at a distance from the secrets of the ad-  
 ‘ ministration, have no way left to judge, but ac-  
 ‘ cording to what appears upon the face of the mes-  
 ‘ sage ; and from thence I must judge, that the de-  
 ‘ mand now made upon us is intirely new, and very  
 ‘ extraordinary. As I said before, it is a demand for  
 ‘ a total surrender of all the rights of Parliament ; for  
 ‘ we are now, it seems, to give the King a power of  
 ‘ raising what money he pleases ; we are to give him  
 ‘ a power of raising wat military force he pleases,  
 ‘ without consent of Parliament : Are not these the  
 ‘ two rights upon which all the other rights of Par-  
 ‘ liament depend ? Is not the controul we have over  
 ‘ these

‘ these two, the only handle by which we can or dare  
 ‘ vindicate any other right that belongs to us? And  
 ‘ after the surrender of these two, can it be said that  
 ‘ we have any right, or at least, that we dare claim  
 ‘ any right, but such as the crown shall vouchsafe  
 ‘ from time to time to allow us.

‘ The honourable gentleman, Sir, by way of in-  
 ‘ troduction to his motion, was pleased to say a great  
 ‘ deal in justification of the message, and of the  
 ‘ powers thereby demanded; but I think the sub-  
 ‘ stance of what he said, may be reduced to these  
 ‘ three heads; That it is necessary for us to grant  
 ‘ those powers; That the granting of such is neither  
 ‘ new or unprecedented; and that they may with  
 ‘ safety be granted to the crown: Every one of  
 ‘ which propositions I must deny, and I think I have  
 ‘ good reason for so doing. The gentleman indeed  
 ‘ spoke to us yesterday, of the necessity of sending  
 ‘ such a message, and I was in hopes he would have  
 ‘ this day endeavoured to have made that necessity  
 ‘ appear: But this is so far from being the case, that  
 ‘ I think, he has rather shewn the contrary.

‘ Whether the powers now asked for be unprece-  
 ‘ dented or not, it is certain, Sir, they are extra-  
 ‘ ordinary, and therefore ought never to be granted,  
 ‘ but when the nation is in imminent danger, or in  
 ‘ cases of the utmost extremity; and for this reason,  
 ‘ I did expect we were to have been told this day,  
 ‘ that the nation was immediately to be invaded by  
 ‘ some foreign power, or that some dangerous plot  
 ‘ had been discovered; and I expected this the more,  
 ‘ because the short time that was asked for taking this  
 ‘ affair into our consideration, was refused. However,  
 ‘ now I find it is quite otherwise, the gentleman him-  
 ‘ self says, he believes the nation to be in safety, but  
 ‘ does not desire its safety should depend upon his  
 ‘ belief. In this, Sir, I agree with him; I really  
 ‘ do not desire, that the safety of the nation should  
 ‘ depend upon his belief; and I believe it would be  
 ‘ happy



happy for us, it did not depend upon his administration. Tho' at first he seemed willing to terrify us with the *French* squadron, yet at last he told us, he believed it was designed elsewhere; but new counsels, groundless jealousies, sudden changes, might bring them this way. For God's sake, Sir, are gentlemen serious when they talk at this rate? Are we to come into such extraordinary measures, are we to vest an absolute power in the crown, because, from new counsels, from sudden changes, the nation may be in danger? If this be a necessity for our agreeing to what is now proposed, will not the same necessity always prevail? Are we not in as great danger from new counsels and sudden changes, when our neighbours are all at peace, as when they are all engaged in a bloody war, and every one of them courting us, either for our assistance or for a neutrality? Nay, for this reason, I think we are now in greater security, than we can ever propose to be, in time of the most profound tranquillity; and therefore, if we now agree to the granting of such powers, and in such an extraordinary method too, I shall expect to see them demanded from every session of Parliament for the future, I shall never expect to see them refused.

I say, Sir, in such an extraordinary method to; for suppose it could be alledged that we should probably be exposed to some great danger, in a month or six weeks hence, which might make it necessary to grant such powers to the crown; yet that would be no reason for doing it in such an extraordinary manner: We would, in such a case, have time to do it in a regular parliamentary way; and wherever that can be done, it ought to be done. There can be no reason, there can be no excuse for thus leaping over all the forms and methods of proceeding in Parliament, but when the danger is so near at hand, that the providing against it cannot admit of such delays. The honourable gentleman says,

‘ our circumstances are much the same now, as they  
 ‘ were at the beginning of the session ; therefore if  
 ‘ we are now in danger, we were then in the same  
 ‘ danger : Why then were we not made acquainted  
 ‘ with it at that time ? If we had, we could have  
 ‘ provided against it in a regular manner. But sup-  
 ‘ pose that we had then done it in this irregular  
 ‘ manner, does the gentleman think, as he pretends,  
 ‘ that there is no greater inconvenience in lodging an  
 ‘ unlimited power in the hands of the crown at the  
 ‘ end of a session, or perhaps at the end of a Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, than at the beginning of a session ? The  
 ‘ contrary is evident ; while the Parliament continues  
 ‘ sitting after such a power granted, they will, never-  
 ‘ theless, be a check upon the use of that power ;  
 ‘ they may recall it before it be too late ; but when  
 ‘ an expiring session, much more an expiring Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, grants such a power, it may, before the next  
 ‘ session, or the next Parliament is allowed to meet,  
 ‘ be extended beyond controul.

‘ The honourable gentleman told us, Sir, that  
 ‘ there have been negotiations on foot ; that there  
 ‘ are negotiations on foot ; it is true they have not,  
 ‘ he says, yet had the desired success, but neither  
 ‘ have they been rejected : That his Majesty is wil-  
 ‘ ling to wait the result of these negotiations, being  
 ‘ resolved to delay putting his people to any expence  
 ‘ as long as it can be avoided. Upon this, he ap-  
 ‘ plauded his Majesty’s tender care for his subjects,  
 ‘ and took care to assume great merit to himself in  
 ‘ advising this delay. Let us suppose, Sir, this Par-  
 ‘ liament dissolved ; suppose these negotiations  
 ‘ actually rejected ; surely we cannot suppose any  
 ‘ power in *Europe* so mad, or so unjust, as to attack  
 ‘ his Majesty for endeavouring to reconcile the dif-  
 ‘ ferences between them and their enemies ; and it is  
 ‘ impossible to suppose, that the affairs of *Europe* can,  
 ‘ upon the rejecting of such negotiations, take such  
 ‘ a sudden turn, as may inevitably oblige his Majesty

‘ to

‘ to declare of one side or the other, before it be  
‘ possible for the new Parliament to meet : This, I  
‘ say, is impossible to suppose ; and it is as impossi-  
‘ ble to suppose, that any of the powers now engaged  
‘ in war, will attempt to invade or insult this nation,  
‘ till his Majesty has openly declared against them.  
‘ The gentleman says, that his Majesty has all along  
‘ endeavoured not to give any just cause of alarm  
‘ to any foreign power, nor to disoblige any ally :  
‘ I am afraid if we disoblige any power in *Europe*,  
‘ we must disoblige an ally : However, as his Ma-  
‘ jesty has, during the session of Parliament, been so  
‘ cautious, it is not to be doubted, but that he will  
‘ continue to be as cautious, during the interval of  
‘ Parliament : So that upon the whole, I must think,  
‘ that every thing the honourable gentleman said,  
‘ tended to prove, that we are not at present under the  
‘ least necessity of granting the powers demanded.

‘ Now, Sir, give me leave to examine the pre-  
‘ cedents the honourable gentleman was pleased to  
‘ mention, and which he said were exactly parallel  
‘ to the case in hand. I do not know, indeed, but  
‘ from the four cases he mentioned taken jointly, we  
‘ may make up some sort of precedent for the pre-  
‘ sent ; but I am very sure that no one of them  
‘ taken separately, is any way parallel to the present.  
‘ As to that in 1702, it is quite different from this,  
‘ both as to the manner of sending it, as to the time  
‘ of its being sent, and as to the powers that were  
‘ either asked or given : As to the manner of sending  
‘ it, it appears, that that great and good Princess,  
‘ *Queen Anne*, in the very message which she sent,  
‘ acquainted the house, that she had commanded the  
‘ several letters and representations passed between  
‘ her and the States General, upon the subject matter  
‘ of the message, to be therewith transmitted to the  
‘ house. So far was she from desiring her Parlia-  
‘ ment to grant, only because she thought fit to ask,  
‘ that on the contrary, she laid the whole of her  
‘ foreign

foreign transactions before them, and thereby made them judges of what ought to be done upon that emergency; and I must say, Sir, it would be no discredit for the best and wisest of her successors to imitate her royal example in this, as well as in most of the other measures of her glorious reign.

Then as to the time of sending that message, we were then actually engaged in the war, and one of our allies was in the most imminent danger of being swallowed up by our most inveterate enemy; an enemy, who but a little before, had put the greatest affront upon this nation, by setting up a Pretender, and acknowledging him in the most public manner, as the only rightful King of these realms. It was not then said, that we or our allies might, from new counsels, and sudden changes, be in danger: It was said, it was not only said, but shewn to the house in the most authentic manner, that one of our allies was actually then in imminent danger. And farther, Sir, that message was not sent to the house at the end of the session, and after most of the members were gone into the country; it was sent in the very middle of the session, and at a time when it must be supposed that the house was full.

But as to the powers then demanded or granted, I am surpris'd to hear it said, that that case is parallel to the present. Sir, her Majesty asked no powers; she only told, and shewed the house what her allies desired and prayed; but she did not pretend by her message, to direct the house what they were to do; she did not desire them to do any thing; but only said, she doubted not, but they would take such measures upon that occasion, as might be most for the honour and advantage of her Majesty, the safety of her kingdoms, and the necessary support of her allies: And in consequence of this, what was done? This house was very far from granting to her Majesty, a power of augmenting her forces both by sea and land, as much

as

‘ as she pleased ; a power of raising and keeping up  
‘ in this nation as numerous an army as she pleased ;  
‘ a power of running this nation in debt as much as  
‘ she pleased ; a power of entering into, and con-  
‘ cluding whatever negotiations or treaties she should  
‘ think proper. No, Sir, they only told her, that,  
‘ if her Majesty should think it necessary to enter  
‘ into any farther negotiations, for increasing the forces  
‘ which were to act in conjunction with the forces of  
‘ the States General, that house would enable her  
‘ Majesty to make good the same ; and even to this  
‘ so particular, this so much limited grant, they  
‘ added this express condition, that *England* should  
‘ not be charged with the pay of such additional  
‘ troops, but from the day when a stop should be  
‘ made by the States General to all correspondence,  
‘ trade, and commerce with *France* and *Spain* :  
‘ But this condition, Sir, was never performed ; the  
‘ additional troops were taken into our pay, but no  
‘ such stop was ever made by the States General ;  
‘ which shews how little we ought to depend upon  
‘ the conditions annexed to, or implied in any grant  
‘ we make, or in any power we give.

‘ As to the messages sent to this house in the years  
‘ 1715 and 1718, they are very far from being pre-  
‘ cedents for the present. At the time of the first,  
‘ there was an insurrection, in a manner, actually  
‘ broke out, and an invasion expected ; the nation  
‘ was then in imminent danger, the government was  
‘ exposed to the danger of being immediately over-  
‘ turned : This the King in his message acquainted  
‘ the house of, and this was the reason for their com-  
‘ ing to the resolution they then did : but even in  
‘ that time of imminent danger, this house neither  
‘ was desired, nor did they condescend to grant  
‘ to his late Majesty such extensive powers, as  
‘ are now demanded and proposed to be granted.  
‘ They desired his Majesty indeed to augment his  
‘ forces both by sea and land, which, considering the  
‘ small



' small number of regular forces we had then in the  
 ' kingdom, was much more reasonable than the same  
 ' power can now appear to be, even suppose we  
 ' were threatned with the like danger; but it was  
 ' not then so much as desired, that the house should  
 ' before-hand approve of all the negotiations and  
 ' treaties, which his Majesty, or rather his ministers,  
 ' should think proper to enter into, or to conclude;  
 ' and the power then granted to his Majesty was the  
 ' less dangerous, because neither the Parliament, nor  
 ' the session of Parliament, was then drawing to-  
 ' wards a close; but on the contrary, his late Ma-  
 ' jesty was so good as to continue the same session of  
 ' Parliament, till the danger the nation was threat-  
 ' ned with, was intirely over; so that the Parlia-  
 ' ment had at any time an opportunity, and cer-  
 ' tainly would have put a check to the ministers of  
 ' state, if they, or any of them, had attempted to  
 ' have made a wrong use of that power which the  
 ' Parliament had granted to his Majesty. The  
 ' powers granted in 1718, were granted for the same  
 ' cause. His Majesty in his speech acquainted his  
 ' Parliament, that the nation was in danger of being  
 ' invaded by a foreign power; and it actually would  
 ' have been invaded, if the *Spanish* fleet had not  
 ' met with a disaster at sea; so that neither of these  
 ' cases can be any way considered as parallel to the  
 ' present.

' It is true, Sir, the other precedent quoted by  
 ' the honourable gentleman, may be looked on as  
 ' some way parallel to the present: We were then  
 ' in a sort of state which I cannot give a name to;  
 ' it was neither a time of war, nor a time of peace;  
 ' but I do not remember it was so much as pretended,  
 ' that the nation was threatned with imminent dan-  
 ' ger; yet we then did somewhat like what we are  
 ' now desired to do; we granted away millions  
 ' for aught we knew, in the dark, without any  
 ' cause or reason assigned. But I must observe, Sir,

‘ that that message happened since the honourable  
‘ gentleman’s return to power, and therefore may be  
‘ supposed to have been advised by the same persons,  
‘ and to have proceeded from the same councils with  
‘ the present ; yet they were a little more modest at  
‘ that time : It could not be then properly said, that  
‘ the nation was in a state of absolute tranquillity ;  
‘ yet nevertheless, the honourable gentleman was so  
‘ modest, as to ask only for a power to make an  
‘ addition to the number of seamen, and to nego-  
‘ tiate and make treaties ; he did not so much as ask  
‘ for a power to raise, and keep up in this nation,  
‘ in a time of peace, whatever number of land-  
‘ forces he might pretend to think necessary. Thus  
‘ we see the honourable gentleman improves upon his  
‘ last precedent, and it is natural to suppose, he will  
‘ likewise improve upon this ; therefore, if all the  
‘ powers, now asked for, be granted, as I do not  
‘ know any other power his Majesty can want from  
‘ his Parliament, but that of making laws, I shall  
‘ expect, that, besides the power now asked for,  
‘ there will be, in the next message from the crown,  
‘ a demand for empowering his Majesty to make or  
‘ repeal, continue or suspend, alter, explain, or  
‘ amend such laws, and in such manner, as he shall  
‘ think absolutely necessary for the safety of the  
‘ nation. This, I say, is the only farther grant  
‘ that is necessary for us to make, in order to e-  
‘ stablish by a resolution of both houses, the abso-  
‘ lute power of the crown ; and with respect to the  
‘ liberties of the nation, I think it is much the same,  
‘ whether we grant this power to the crown, or  
‘ put the crown in a capacity of assuming it when-  
‘ ever they have a mind, which will certainly be  
‘ the consequence of the resolution now proposed.

‘ This, Sir, naturally leads me to the other doc-  
‘ trine which the honourable gentleman has endea-  
‘ voured to establish ; that we may with safety grant

' to the crown the power now asked for. As to his  
 ' present Majesty, Sir, he is a Prince of so much  
 ' goodness and wisdom, and is endowed with so  
 ' many noble and princely qualifications, that we  
 ' may safely not only trust him with the powers now  
 ' demanded, but we may surrender, and lay down  
 ' the whole of our rights and liberties at the foot of  
 ' the throne; but as this would be a most dan-  
 ' gerous precedent, and might be made a most  
 ' wicked use of in times to come, the same wisdom  
 ' and generosity, which makes it safe for us to put  
 ' so much trust in his present Majesty, would ren-  
 ' der persons capable of so much mean and low  
 ' complaisance, most despicable in his Majesty's  
 ' eyes. He might justly say of us, what the *Roman*  
 ' Emperor said of that senate, which was so  
 ' complaisant as to refuse nothing he asked; *O Ho-*  
 ' *mines servire paratos!* And his Majesty would have  
 ' as much reason to be quite tired with our fawning  
 ' complaisance, as that Emperor is by the historian  
 ' represented to have been with the fawning com-  
 ' plaisance of the *Roman* senate. We all know, Sir,  
 ' how difficult it is to refuse to the King upon the  
 ' throne, those favours or powers which have been  
 ' granted to his predecessor; and therefore it has al-  
 ' ways been the established maxim of every honest  
 ' man, who had a seat in either house of Parlia-  
 ' ment, not to grant to a good King those powers,  
 ' which a bad King might make an ill use of; and  
 ' surely, if a bad King were trusted with a power of  
 ' raising land forces at discretion, he might easily  
 ' turn it to the utter subversion of all the liberties  
 ' and privileges of the people of this kingdom.

' But with respect to the powers now asked, our  
 ' safety is, it seems, to be secured by this; that a  
 ' particular account is to be rendered to next Parlia-  
 ' ment of whatever may be done, and of all the  
 ' additional expence that may be incurred, in  
 ' pur-

‘ purfuanee of thefe powers. Sir, I have been fo  
‘ often deceived by minifterial promifes, and ex-  
‘ perience has fo fully convinced me, that we are  
‘ never to expect any fuch account in a fair and re-  
‘ gular manner, that I have no faith in, nor any de-  
‘ pendence upon, fuch promifes: Both I and other  
‘ gentlemen have often called for fuch accounts, but  
‘ we have always been told, that either matters were  
‘ not ripe for laying fuch accounts before Parliament,  
‘ or that the fecrets of the government were not to be  
‘ revealed; and the higheft fatisfaction we could ever  
‘ get upon fuch occafions, was to be told, that the  
‘ expences had been neceffarily incurred on account  
‘ of foreign and fecret fervices: It has always been  
‘ pretended there was a neceffity for fuch expence,  
‘ but the Parliament was never to be let into the  
‘ fecret from whence that neceffity arofe; we are  
‘ always, it feems, to believe fo upon the bare  
‘ word of our honeft and wife minifters; and I am  
‘ very apt to believe that the fame confidence and  
‘ refignation will be required from the next Parlia-  
‘ ment.

‘ The gentleman faid he might leave the queftion  
‘ to reft wholly upon our prefent circumftances: It  
‘ may be fo, Sir, but I wifh he had told us what  
‘ thefe circumftances are. He faid they were the  
‘ fame they were at the beginning of the feflion; not  
‘ altogether the fame; they were the fame in gene-  
‘ ral, but by time, and variations in foreign coun-  
‘ cils, an alteration might be made in them. I muft  
‘ fay, Sir, the houfe is very much obliged to the  
‘ honourable gentleman for giving us fo much fatis-  
‘ faction; and from this intelligence we fhall cer-  
‘ tainly be able to give our friends in the country a  
‘ moft fatisfactory account, and a moft convincing  
‘ reafon for what we have done. It is true, they  
‘ have been made believe that they are to pay but  
‘ two fhillings in the pound land-tax, but we can  
‘ tell them that the honourable gentleman gave us

‘ so particular an account of our circumstances, and  
 ‘ of the danger the nation was exposed to, that we  
 ‘ thought proper to leave it to his discretion, whe-  
 ‘ ther the nation should be charged with six shillings,  
 ‘ or perhaps with nineteen shillings in the pound  
 ‘ land-tax ; and by his past conduct the nation is so  
 ‘ fully convinced of his wisdom and sincerity, that  
 ‘ they will certainly approve of what we have done.

‘ Sir, I have troubled you too long ; I think I  
 ‘ have shewn that the resolution proposed is neither  
 ‘ necessary nor safe, nor founded upon any prece-  
 ‘ dent : But quoting of precedents signifies nothing ;  
 ‘ suppose there were precedents exactly parallel to  
 ‘ the present case, it would be no argument for our  
 ‘ agreeing to what is proposed. There are but too  
 ‘ many precedents which resemble it a little ; it is  
 ‘ now high time to put a stop to the practice, and I  
 ‘ am sure it will be much more for our honour to  
 ‘ make a precedent where such a demand has been  
 ‘ refused, otherwise the thing may come to be fami-  
 ‘ liar : It may become an usual custom to vest the  
 ‘ crown with such a power at the end of every Par-  
 ‘ liament ; so that all our succeeding Parliaments  
 ‘ may come to be chosen under the influence of ab-  
 ‘ solute power, and then neither the honourable gen-  
 ‘ tleman, nor any of his successors in office, needs  
 ‘ desire to do any thing without the previous sanction  
 ‘ of Parliament ; for it is not to be supposed that a  
 ‘ Parliament chosen under the influence of arbitrary  
 ‘ power, will ever refuse their sanction, when the  
 ‘ minister for the time being, pleases to demand it ;  
 ‘ in which case, I believe, every gentleman will  
 ‘ agree with me, that the Parliament will be alto-  
 ‘ gether useless, it will serve for nothing but to make  
 ‘ our ministers the more daring, and the oppressions  
 ‘ of the people the more grievous ; and therefore,  
 ‘ Sir, I am against the question.’



Sir *Thomas Robinson* spoke next for the question; after him the Lord *Coleraine* spoke against it, and then,

*Edward Digby*, Esq; stood up and spoke to the Mr. Dig-  
 following effect: ‘ The honourable gentleman who <sup>by’s</sup>  
 ‘ opened this debate has, in my opinion, Sir, made <sup>speech.</sup>  
 ‘ as artful a speech in favour of arbitrary power, as  
 ‘ ever I heard made any where, and has said a great  
 ‘ deal more in recommendation of such a govern-  
 ‘ ment, than ever I expected to have heard within  
 ‘ these walls. I will not easily admit, Sir, that we  
 ‘ are ever to trust the crown with such extensive  
 ‘ powers as are now demanded; but surely, if we  
 ‘ are ever to do any thing like it, if we are ever to  
 ‘ vest in the crown any extraordinary and unusual  
 ‘ powers, it ought to be in a case of the extremest  
 ‘ necessity, and even then we ought to do it in the  
 ‘ most deliberate way that the circumstances of the  
 ‘ case can admit of, and not till after the case has  
 ‘ been fully explained, and the necessity made clearly  
 ‘ to appear to us. Had we been informed of our  
 ‘ danger in the beginning of the session, what is now  
 ‘ proposed might have been done; but then it might  
 ‘ have been done in a regular way, and might have  
 ‘ passed through all the forms of Parliament; by  
 ‘ which means the other house might have had an  
 ‘ opportunity of putting a negative upon it, which  
 ‘ they ought to have by our constitution; and every  
 ‘ gentleman of either house of Parliament might  
 ‘ have had an opportunity of examining into the  
 ‘ merits of the question, and of giving his opinion  
 ‘ upon it; whereas now we are in a thin house, and  
 ‘ without any concurrence of the other house, to  
 ‘ give up by a single vote all the rights of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, and, for aught we know, to put an end to  
 ‘ all Parliaments.

‘ The

‘ The honourable gentleman has told us, that during the former part of the session of Parliament, his Majesty did not make this application, because the danger had not become so great, as to make it necessary for us to put ourselves to any immediate additional expence, but that after the session is broke up, or this Parliament dissolved, some change may happen, which will make such expence necessary; and as his Majesty cannot then have an opportunity of applying to his Parliament, therefore it is necessary to furnish him with such powers as are now demanded, before the session breaks up. Sir, I would be glad to know from that gentleman, or any other, what necessity there is for this session’s breaking up so soon, or if there is any necessity for dissolving this Parliament in a few days? Our time does not expire till *October* next; and, however necessary our presence may be in the country, if the nation be in any danger, if there be any reason to suspect, that the nation may soon be in danger, I am sure every gentleman will think it his duty to remain in town, or to return to town, in order to attend the service of his country in Parliament. If we have now really any thing to fear from the *French* Squadron, and that, I think, is the only danger I have heard so much as insinuated, all apprehensions from that squadron, must be over long before that time; nay, I do not know, but if the few days that were asked yesterday for taking this message into our consideration, had been granted, the danger from that squadron might have been over before we had come to consider of that danger, or how to provide against it; and this perhaps was the chief motive for refusing so short and so reasonable a delay; for if that squadron had been sailed elsewhere, the gentlemen would have been stripped of the only argument I have heard them make use of for persuading us, or rather for terrifying  
us,

' us, into the granting of an absolute power to the  
' crown.

' The honourable gentleman told us, that his Ma-  
' jesty desired not to give our allies a mean opinion  
' of this nation, by our neglecting to put ourselves  
' in a condition of making good all our engagements  
' to them. Sir, I do not know what engagements  
' we may lie under, or who are our present allies, for  
' I think all the powers of *Europe* have lately been  
' our allies in their turns ; but for this very reason,  
' Sir, I am against what is now proposed, I am for  
' giving our allies, whoever they may be, a good  
' opinion, not only of this nation, but of his Ma-  
' jesty's government ; and therefore, whatever may  
' be necessary to be done for putting ourselves in a  
' condition to make good our engagements, I am  
' for its being done in a full house, and in a regular  
' parliamentary method. Can any gentleman ima-  
' gine, that our allies, especially the *Dutch*, if they  
' be our allies, are ignorant of our constitution ? No,  
' Sir, they are perfectly acquainted with it ; and  
' therefore, if we should grant such powers as are  
' now demanded, or make any other sort of provi-  
' sion in a full house, and in the regular parliamen-  
' tary method, we cannot doubt of its having greater  
' weight with our allies, than a resolution or vote  
' thus obtained by surprise at the end of the session,  
' and after most of the gentlemen are retired to the  
' country. Such a method of obtaining the appro-  
' bation of Parliament, must necessarily give them a  
' mean opinion, at least, of our government, and  
' must contribute to the rendering his Majesty's en-  
' deavours for restoring the peace of *Europe* of little  
' or no effect.

' Besides, Sir, by the proposition now made to  
' us, we are really going to do what our allies  
' know we cannot do : We are not only going to  
' delegate the power of Parliament to the crown,  
' but we are going to promise that a future Parlia-

‘ment shall approve of whatever may be done in  
 ‘pursuance of that power so delegated to the crown.  
 ‘Does not every one of our allies know, that no  
 ‘Parliament can make such a promise? Does not  
 ‘every man know, that no Parliament has a right to  
 ‘surrender the liberties of the people, or to delegate  
 ‘the power of Parliament to the crown? And can  
 ‘we imagine, that any Potentate in *Europe* will have  
 ‘any great dependence upon the powers or promises  
 ‘which are granted by those who had no right to  
 ‘grant any such? But suppose we had a right to  
 ‘grant the powers now asked for, that right is cer-  
 ‘tainly never to be made use of but when the na-  
 ‘tion is in the most imminent danger; and as I  
 ‘can see no pretence for saying, that the nation is  
 ‘now, or is like to be, in any such danger, nor have  
 ‘heard any other reason for asking the powers now  
 ‘proposed to be given, I must suspect that they are  
 ‘asked for purposes that cannot be openly avowed,  
 ‘and therefore I shall give my negative to the  
 ‘question.’

*Philip Gybbon*, Esq; spoke next against the ques-  
 tion; and after him *Henry Pelham*, Esq; spoke in  
 favour of the question; then *Thomas Palmer*, Esq;  
 spoke against it; and after him,

Mr. Wal-  
 pole's  
 speech.

*Horace Walpole*, Esq; spoke in substance thus,  
 ‘Gentlemen, Sir, have been at a good deal of  
 ‘pains to make out a difference between the prece-  
 ‘dents that have been mentioned, and the case now  
 ‘before us; tho’ I think, with very little success:  
 ‘There never was yet a precedent for any proposi-  
 ‘tion or determination so exactly parallel to the case  
 ‘in hand, but ingenious gentlemen might find out  
 ‘some minute differences; yet precedents, where no  
 ‘material difference could be shewn, have always  
 ‘been allowed to be good authorities for what was  
 ‘proposed to be done; and in the present case, I do  
 ‘not

' not find, that with all their ingenuity, they have  
' been able to shew any material difference between  
' the precedents mentioned, and the proposition now  
' made to us. The two material points now under  
' our consideration, with respect to precedents, are,  
' whether it has not been the practice of Parliament,  
' to grant extraordinary powers to the crown in the  
' time of danger? And in what method those powers  
' have been granted? These, I say, are the two  
' chief points, and as to both of them, every one  
' of the precedents mentioned appears to be as exact-  
' ly parallel as any one case can be to another.

' But, Sir, I will endeavour to point out to the  
' honourable gentlemen one very material difference  
' between the message now before us, and all the  
' other messages that have formerly come from the  
' crown; and it is this, in the present message, his  
' Majesty expressly promises to lay a full account of  
' whatever expences may be incurred before the next  
' Parliament, which is a piece of condescension that  
' was never made by the crown in any former mes-  
' sage sent to Parliament: This is indeed a material  
' difference, but such a difference, as in my opinion,  
' ought certainly to be a prevailing argument for us  
' to agree to what is now demanded. And as to  
' the message in the year 1702, I must, upon this  
' occasion, observe, that if a greater confidence had  
' been placed in her Majesty, and her then mini-  
' sters, and stronger resolutions made by that Parlia-  
' ment, it is more than probable, that the war  
' which ensued, might have been intirely prevented,  
' or at least, that the enemies of this nation would  
' have been obliged to have entered into the war un-  
' der much greater disadvantages than they did; so  
' that the slow and lukewarm proceedings of that  
' Parliament, and the fatal effects they produced, is  
' one of the strongest arguments that can be suggest-  
' ed, for us now to strengthen his Majesty's hands



‘ in such a manner as may prevent any such fatal consequences.

‘ It is surprising to me to hear gentlemen complain that nothing has been laid before them, to shew the necessity for granting the powers now asked for. Did not his Majesty in his speech at the opening of the session inform us of the war then begun in *Europe*? Does not he by the present message acquaint us that this war still continues? And is not every gentleman convinced by what he knows of the situation of *Europe*, that the balance of power in *Europe* intirely depends on the event of that war? Let which ever side prevail, if it should be allowed to prevail too far, would not the balance of power be thereby overturned, and will not this nation necessarily be obliged to prevent so fatal an effect? Besides this, does not every gentleman know that the *French* have lately fitted out a very powerful sea armament, which, if not designed against this country, can be designed against but one other place in the world? I indeed believe that it is designed against *Dantzick*, but if that affair should blow over, which is possible, before the *French* fleet sails, can we then be easy, can we imagine ourselves in security, while so large a squadron, with an army ready to be put on board, lies within a few hours sailing of our coast?

‘ The honourable gentleman by me very well observed what has been done by the *Dutch*, they had resolved to reduce 10,000 of their land-forces, but upon the breaking out of the war, they have put off that resolution: They are our natural ally, they have hitherto gone hand in hand with us, but we know in what a weak and defenceless condition their barrier in *Flanders* is at present, and if we should sit still and do nothing, is it to be expected that they will go on in the same way? No, Sir, they will be obliged to throw themselves intirely

‘ tirely into the arms of *France*, and must depend  
 ‘ upon the honour of that crown for the preservation  
 ‘ of their barrier in *Flanders*.

‘ Gentlemen may, Sir, if they please, call this a  
 ‘ vote of credit, but as his Majesty has so expressly  
 ‘ promised an account, it cannot properly be called a  
 ‘ vote of credit. It is, in my opinion, only a vote  
 ‘ of confidence: It is only coming to a resolution,  
 ‘ which, by shewing the intire confidence we have  
 ‘ in his Majesty, will give his instances with foreign  
 ‘ powers the greater weight, and consequently is ab-  
 ‘ solutely necessary for the preservation of the balance  
 ‘ of power in *Europe*, without which this nation can  
 ‘ never be in any safety or security.

*Samuel Tuffnel*, Esq; spoke next likewise in favour  
 of the motion; after him the Lord *Tyrconnel* spoke  
 against it; and then,

Sir *William Wyndham* spoke to this effect. ‘ As I Sir *Will.*  
 ‘ find myself at present very much out of order, I *Wyndham*  
 ‘ am very unfit, Sir, to offer my opinion on so im- his speech.  
 ‘ portant a question: However, I must beg leave to  
 ‘ trouble you a little upon this occasion, because,  
 ‘ if what is now proposed should be agreed to, I do  
 ‘ not know, but it may be the last time I shall ever  
 ‘ have an opportunity of delivering my opinion as a  
 ‘ member of this house.

‘ With me, Sir, it a matter of no consequence,  
 ‘ whether the proposition now made to us be founded  
 ‘ on precedents or not; for if any thing like what  
 ‘ is proposed has been done, I am of opinion, that  
 ‘ as often as it has been done it has been wrong done,  
 ‘ and the oftner it is done it will still be the worse:  
 ‘ But to tell us, that the only two points now under  
 ‘ our consideration is, Whether extraordinary powers  
 ‘ have, upon any occasion, been granted to the  
 ‘ crown; and in what method these powers have  
 ‘ been granted; is very extraordinary: For supposing

‘ it right to grant extraordinary powers by an extraordinary method, upon some occasions, certainly we are, upon all such occasions, to consider the reasons for granting such powers, and the nature of the powers to be granted ; and if, upon the present occasion, the powers proposed to be granted, are much more extensive than those formerly granted, and the reasons for granting them not near so strong as upon former occasions, no former precedent can give any authority for doing what is now proposed.

‘ We are told of the naval armaments of *France* ; but I would gladly know what we have done to deserve any insult from that nation. If contributing to throw the affairs of *Europe* into their present situation, by which the house of *Bourbon* has been again put into a condition of pulling down the overgrown power of the house of *Austria*, which so greatly alarmed us some years ago : if this, I say, deserves any insult from *France*, I do not know but we may deserve it : But if this were true, while we have an army of 18000 men in this kingdom, and 12000 in *Ireland* all ready at our call, and a more powerful fleet than any the *French* can put to sea, what have we to fear from five or six thousand *French*, if they were actually landed in the island. Sir, if we had not a regiment in the kingdom, we could not have any thing to fear from so inconsiderable a number. And can we suppose the *French* such fools as to make so ridiculous an attempt, by which they must expect to draw the immediate vengeance of this nation upon them ?

‘ When our armies or our fleets are to be augmented, when we are to enter into expensive negotiations, or when we are desired to put extraordinary powers into the hands of the government, for purposes not to be told ; I have often observed, Sir, that some gentlemen are, upon such occasions,

‘ sions, mighty apt to raise phantoms, and to magnify imaginary dangers, from whence they argue for the necessity of providing against them as if they were real : We are then to be afraid of invasions and insults from almost every power in *Europe* ; but when upon other occasions they are told what is too true, that the nation is in a most dangerous and distressed condition, they then insist upon it that we are in the most happy situation, that our trade is in a flourishing state, and that we are in friendship with, or at least have no diffidence of any foreign power whatsoever.

‘ But now it seems, Sir, we must grant more extensive powers to the crown than were ever granted by any Parliament, tho’ it cannot be so much as pretended, that we are in any immediate danger ; for even those gentlemen who talk of the necessity of granting such powers, tell us, that we are in the same circumstances we were in at the beginning of the session : It is true, we were not told what circumstances we were then in, nor are we told what circumstances we are now in : For this, we must depend upon the assertion of an honourable gentleman ; and even he has told us, that he does not believe we are in any danger, but does not desire the safety of the nation to depend on his belief. God forbid, Sir, it should ; but if we thus, upon his bare word, give up all the rights of Parliament, and in some measure destroy the necessity of holding any Parliament for the future, I must say, that we shall from that moment leave the safety of the nation, and the preservation of our constitution, to depend very much upon his management : This is what I shall never agree to : It is what I hope, no Parliament will ever agree to ; and therefore if we are in any danger, or if we are like to be in any danger, let us know our danger from something else than his bare assertion, and

‘ then I doubt not but the wisdom of Parliament  
‘ will provide effectually against it.

‘ We are seldom indeed told much, we are never  
‘ told things but by halves ; but if what we are told  
‘ be true, if his Majesty has hitherto taken no share  
‘ in the war, we cannot be in any immediate dan-  
‘ ger. However, though his Majesty, as King of  
‘ *Great Britain*, may not have taken any share in  
‘ the war, yet he certainly has, as Elector of *Hano-*  
‘ *ver* ; and as this nation has, by some fatality or  
‘ another, been generally engaged in the same quar-  
‘ rel which our King, as Elector of *Hanover*, espoused,  
‘ if the same thing should again happen, this na-  
‘ tion may then, indeed, come to be threatened  
‘ with some danger or insult ; but, in such a case,  
‘ it is not necessary for us to provide against such a  
‘ distant and such a conditional danger, in the ex-  
‘ traordinary method now proposed : Why may we  
‘ not sit for a few months longer, and do in a re-  
‘ gular parliamentary way whatever may seem ne-  
‘ cessary on that occasion ? When we are all together,  
‘ we make of ourselves a pretty good battallion ; it  
‘ cannot be said but that we are well officered, and a  
‘ little time might probably bring us to turn to right  
‘ and left, and to perform all the other parts of ex-  
‘ ercise by beat of drum ; but this, Sir, is a serious  
‘ subject, and therefore I ask pardon.

‘ We have been told, Sir, that all that is now  
‘ asked is only to put a confidence in his Majesty.  
‘ No, Sir, it is to put a confidence in his ministers,  
‘ and in them I have none : no, not even though  
‘ the hon. person on the floor has assured us, that  
‘ no wanton or bad use shall be made of it ; for if  
‘ we once grant the power, we cannot tell how it  
‘ may be used, nor can we be assured that any future  
‘ Parliament will have it in their power to call those  
‘ to an account, who may make a wrong or a wick-  
‘ ed use of it : We are not to expect *Sylla*’s in every  
‘ age, absolute power is a bewitching possession,  
‘ and



‘ and seldom voluntarily resigned. The same hon.  
 ‘ person asked us, if the past conduct of the admi-  
 ‘ nistration did not promise, rather a backwardness  
 ‘ than a forwardness in making use of this power?  
 ‘ I must confess, Sir, that a backwardness has been  
 ‘ shewn by them in cases where it was very wrong  
 ‘ to shew any such thing: When repeated insults  
 ‘ have been offered to the nation; when our mer-  
 ‘ chants have been pillaged, and our sailors murder-  
 ‘ ed, and that for years together, they have shewed  
 ‘ a mean and dishonourable backwardness; and  
 ‘ therefore I think we have good reason to suspect,  
 ‘ that the same imprudence may make them unwisely  
 ‘ rash, and unseasonably forward in engaging in  
 ‘ disputes where the interest of the nation may call  
 ‘ upon them to be at least neutral.

‘ As all the principal powers of *Europe* are now  
 ‘ engaged in a bloody war against one another, and  
 ‘ as we have not yet taken any share in that war,  
 ‘ the present circumstances of *Europe* are to me a  
 ‘ most evident proof, that we neither are nor can be  
 ‘ in any danger, as long as we continue in the same  
 ‘ situation; and as we have no contrary evidence,  
 ‘ but what appears upon the general ministerial mes-  
 ‘ sage, now under our consideration, I do not see  
 ‘ how we can possibly form a pretence for agreeing  
 ‘ to what is now asked of us: We ought, and I  
 ‘ hope we always will shew as great a deference to  
 ‘ the crown as becometh the freeborn subjects of *Brit-  
 ‘ tain*; but considering how often the crown has, up-  
 ‘ on former occasions, been induced to assert for  
 ‘ truth, what time, the discoverer of secrets, has made  
 ‘ appear not to be true: Considering that we are to  
 ‘ look upon this, as well as all other such messages,  
 ‘ as proceeding from the advice and suggestion of  
 ‘ ministers; and when we reflect upon former asser-  
 ‘ tions which came to Parliament, by the advice and  
 ‘ upon the suggestion of the very same persons, we  
 ‘ cannot be justified in delegating so great a power  
 ‘ upon

‘ upon so slight an evidence; an evidence which  
 ‘ time may hereafter, as it has before done, shew  
 ‘ to be intirely false.

‘ I could have added a great deal more upon this  
 ‘ subject, but I find myself so bad, Sir, I can pro-  
 ‘ ceed no farther; only shall take this opportunity,  
 ‘ this last opportunity, I am afraid, of declaring my  
 ‘ attachment to the liberties and the constitution of  
 ‘ my country, by declaring my aversion to the pro-  
 ‘ position now before us.’

Sir Will.  
 Yonge's  
 speech.

Sir William Yonge. ‘ As all the objections made  
 ‘ to what is now proposed, have been already fully  
 ‘ answered by other gentlemen, I shall not pretend,  
 ‘ Sir, to enter much into the merits of the question;  
 ‘ neither did I intend to have given you any trouble  
 ‘ in this debate; but such expressions have dropped  
 ‘ from the honourable gentleman who spoke last,  
 ‘ that it is impossible they should be passed over  
 ‘ without some notice. He told us, that the crown  
 ‘ had often asserted for truth what afterwards appeared  
 ‘ to be false. This, Sir, I take to be an accusa-  
 ‘ tion, which is very inconsistent with that duty and  
 ‘ respect, which every member of this house ought  
 ‘ to shew to the crown; and I was the more sur-  
 ‘ prised to hear that gentleman accuse the crown of  
 ‘ imposing falsities upon the Parliament, because he  
 ‘ always uses a great deal of caution in what he says  
 ‘ in this house: I was sorry the hon. gentleman was  
 ‘ prevented from proceeding in this discourse, be-  
 ‘ cause I believe he would have explained what he  
 ‘ had said in such a manner, as not to imply so  
 ‘ much disrespect to the crown: I dare say he  
 ‘ would; but as his words now stand, I cannot think  
 ‘ it possible they should escape the notice of this  
 ‘ house.

‘ I promised not to enter much into the merits of  
 ‘ the question, however I will beg leave to explain,  
 ‘ a little, what passed in this house the first day of  
 ‘ the

‘ the session, upon the motion for an address to his Majesty ; I remember some gentlemen took exceptions to an expression, proposed to be put into that address, as if a promise of a vote of credit had been intended to be couched under it ; and upon that occasion the hon. gentleman by me said, he believed no person so much as dreamed that such an use was intended to be made of that expression ; because, if any such thing as a vote of credit should be deemed necessary, the demand for it would come in the usual way, by a message ; and if any such message should come, he believed, no argument in favour of it either could or would be drawn from the words then proposed to be put into your address.

‘ Gentlemen, I perceive, pretend, that they can not find out the difference between what is now proposed and a vote of credit ; yet, in my opinion, if they will be at the pains to compare the two together, they may very easily discover the difference ; for, a vote of credit is, where a sum is given for certain services, not to be accounted for to Parliament ; whereas the present message bears this express promise in it, that a full and particular account shall be laid before next Parliament, of all the expences which may be incurred in consequence of the powers now to be granted ; and as no power is desired, but what appears to me necessary for the security and quiet of the nation, I neither can see nor have heard any sufficient reason for not granting them.’

Sir *John Barnard*. ‘ The hon. gentleman who spoke last, found fault, Sir, with my worthy friend Sir *John Barnard*’s below me, for speaking disrespectfully, as he called it, of the crown ; upon which I must observe, that the hon. gentleman is very apt, I will not say willingly, to mistake what other gentlemen say, and then to find fault with what he supposes they did

' did say. My worthy friend said, that the crown  
 ' has often been induced to assert for truth, what  
 ' time has afterwards discovered not to be true. Sir,  
 ' the crown is never supposed to know any thing  
 ' but by information; and if those who inform the  
 ' crown, have been themselves misinformed, or should  
 ' for any private and wicked purpose, give the crown  
 ' a false information, the crown may, by such in-  
 ' formation, be induced to assert for truth, what time  
 ' may very probably shew not to have been true;  
 ' so that, without any explanation, there is no foun-  
 ' dation for finding fault with what my worthy friend  
 ' said: Nay, it is what happens but too often; were  
 ' not we told but a few years ago, of some secret  
 ' articles in an alliance entered into between two of  
 ' our neighbours, by which *Gibraltar* was to have  
 ' been taken from us, and the Pretender was to have  
 ' been placed, by force, upon the throne of these  
 ' realms: This was afterwards discovered not to be  
 ' true; and indeed, to consider the situation and  
 ' circumstances of the two powers, who were said to  
 ' have entered into these articles, it is hardly possible  
 ' to believe that any such projects should have en-  
 ' tered into either of their heads: Yet this was  
 ' confidently asserted; and to have pretended at that  
 ' time to have doubted of it, it would, I believe,  
 ' have been reckoned highly disrespectful to the  
 ' crown, if not downright disaffection. So far are  
 ' we, Sir, from being obliged to believe every thing  
 ' asserted by the crown, that we are, in many  
 ' cases, bound to inquire into the truth of such  
 ' assertions; and if they should, upon such inquiry,  
 ' appear to be false, we ought to punish those, who  
 ' have either foolishly or knavishly imposed upon  
 ' the crown.

' Upon the present occasion, Sir, the crown is ab-  
 ' solutely safe from any accusation or suspicion of  
 ' this kind; for we have not, as yet, had the least  
 ' information from the crown; even by the present  
 ' message

‘ message, notwithstanding the great powers thereby  
‘ demanded, it is not so much as insinuated, that  
‘ the nation is in any danger, nor are we informed  
‘ of any fact from which it may conjectured, that  
‘ the nation may soon be in danger : It has indeed  
‘ been insinuated, by an hon. gentleman in this  
‘ house, by way of supplement to the message, that  
‘ we are in danger of an invasion from *France* ; but  
‘ even that gentleman himself says, he does not be-  
‘ lieve we are in any danger, which is something  
‘ very singular ; he does not, he says, believe it,  
‘ but yet he would have every other gentleman in  
‘ this house believe it ; for it is certain, there is no  
‘ danger to be apprehended from any other foreign  
‘ power ; therefore it is impossible for any gentle-  
‘ man, who is of his opinion, with respect to our  
‘ danger from *France*, to agree to his resolution. I  
‘ say, it is impossible that any gentleman, who does  
‘ not think the nation in any danger, should agree  
‘ to the granting to the crown an unlimited power,  
‘ of raising forces by sea and land, of entering into  
‘ expensive alliances, and putting the nation to an  
‘ infinite expence.

‘ But perhaps, Sir, the danger we are now  
‘ threatened with, is of a domestic nature : If so, I  
‘ wish some of those gentlemen who know it, would  
‘ rise up and give us some account of it ; for really  
‘ my imagination is so barren, that I cannot form to  
‘ myself, an idea of any such danger, unless it be  
‘ the danger of having the majority of next Parlia-  
‘ ment consist of such persons, as may not be agree-  
‘ able to some gentlemen ; and if the vote of credit  
‘ we are now to give, should be applied towards pre-  
‘ venting that danger, if any part of the money should  
‘ be made use of for that purpose, it is certain that  
‘ no gentleman needs be under any apprehensions or  
‘ any uneasiness from the promise now made, of ac-  
‘ counting to next Parliament. But I beg pardon,  
‘ Sir, I believe I should not have called the resolution  
‘ proposed



‘ proposed to us a vote of credit ; for I find gentle-  
 ‘ men are greatly divided, whether it ought to be  
 ‘ called a vote of credit, or a vote of confidence.  
 ‘ However, I think that dispute may be easily ac-  
 ‘ comodated, by calling it a vote of confidence and  
 ‘ credit.

‘ It may be thought, Sir, that I do not treat this  
 ‘ subject seriously enough : I will allow, that if the  
 ‘ nation were really in any danger, it would be an  
 ‘ affair of very great consequence. In such a case,  
 ‘ it would be a very serious question to determine,  
 ‘ Whether we should devolve the power of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment upon the crown for a short time : But when  
 ‘ gentlemen come upon such a demand, without any  
 ‘ foundation ; when even they themselves tell us  
 ‘ they believe we are in no danger, but tell us  
 ‘ of a *French* Squadron with four or five thousand  
 ‘ forces ready to be put on board ; and, because  
 ‘ we are now just at the end of a Parliament, make  
 ‘ use of that story, as a sufficient argument for us to  
 ‘ put it in the power of a minister, never to call an-  
 ‘ other ; I say, Sir, such a demand, founded upon  
 ‘ such an argument, must be looked on as a mini-  
 ‘ sterial demand only ; and therefore ought either to  
 ‘ be treated with ridicule, or rejected with indignation.  
 ‘ It is a demand of such a nature, Sir, that, in my  
 ‘ opinion, no gentleman, who has the least regard  
 ‘ for Parliaments, or who expects ever to sit in  
 ‘ another free Parliament, can agree to it.’

Sir Robert  
 Walpole's  
 speech.

Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. ‘ Sir, in the  
 ‘ station in which I have the honour to serve the  
 ‘ King, I cannot sit still when I hear the crown re-  
 ‘ flected on in the manner it has been. I am, in  
 ‘ justice to the memory of the late King, and in  
 ‘ duty to the present, obliged to take notice of what  
 ‘ happened to fall from the honourable gentleman  
 ‘ under the gallery. His late Majesty's assertion,  
 ‘ relating to the two secret articles agreed on between

‘ two

two foreign powers, which that gentleman took notice of, and which he was pleased to say appeared afterwards not to be true, was as well founded, and as true an assertion as ever came from the crown. It is true indeed, *Mons. Palm*, the Imperial minister then at this court, denied that there were any such secret articles in the treaty; but Sir, when we have the word of the late King from the throne on one side, and the denial of a foreign minister, a minister of inferior rank to, upon the other, I must say that in such a case, to pretend to be at a loss which to give most credit to, is treating the memory of our late Sovereign with very great indignity; and I am sure, if time has discovered any thing, it has discovered the contrary of what the honourable gentleman pretends. Do not we all know that *Gibraltar* was soon after actually besieged, and if proper care had not been taken to prevent it, every thing else that was stipulated by these secret articles, would as certainly have been undertaken. The other project, if it had been undertaken, would, I believe, have met with the same success; but I am persuaded, there are some who are sorry it was not accomplished.

Gentlemen talk, Sir, of misinforming, and imposing upon the crown; but in that case, it was not his late Majesty's ministers here who informed him, it was he that informed them of that transaction: He had his information at *Hanover*, and his information was so good, that he could not be deceived: I know as well, and am as certain, that there were such articles, as those very persons who drew up the articles. I am sorry, Sir, I have been provoked to say so much. To talk of these things may now be improper, and perhaps I cannot justify myself in having said so much, yet in justice to the late King, I think I could say no less.

As

‘ As to the question itself, I have heard no objections made, but what have been fully answered by other gentlemen, therefore shall not trouble you farther upon it, but only to declare, that as this nation may be exposed to great dangers during the interval of Parliament, I think it absolutely necessary to comply with his Majesty’s message; and as an account is to be rendered to next Parliament, and that Parliament must meet some time next winter, if not sooner, the powers now to be granted cannot, in that time, produce any bad consequences; but may produce very good effects, by giving a due weight to any proposals his Majesty, in conjunction with his allies, may think proper to make to the powers now engaged in war.’

Mr. Pulteney’s  
speech.

*William Pulteney, Esq;* ‘ As it is now so late, Sir, and as so many unanswerable objections have been already made to the proposition now before us, I should not have stood up to give you any trouble, but that I think the question of so great moment, that I ought to testify my aversion to it by something more than a bare negative. As to the danger from the *French* fleet, Sir, it is either too near to be provided against by any thing that can be done in consequence of this message; or it is so remote, that it may be provided against in a regular manner: This has already been taken notice of, and has not as yet received any answer. But I must farther observe, that if there had ever been any ground to suspect, that the *French* fleet was designed against this island, their not coming hither before now, is sufficient to remove any jealousy that might have been entertained that way. They might have had ships sufficient to have transported 5 or 6000 men to this island, and those troops might have been embarked, nay, and even landed in this island, long before this time; and therefore their fleet’s waiting so long in their harbour, is a plain,

‘ plain demonstration, that they are not designed  
‘ against this island, but against a place, which they  
‘ cannot approach so early in the spring.

‘ It is something very surprising to me, Sir, that  
‘ upon the present occasion, we should be told what  
‘ the *Dutch* have done, or rather, indeed, what they  
‘ have not done. When they make any reduction  
‘ of their forces, in order to save public expence,  
‘ and to spare their people, we are then told, that  
‘ their example can be no rule for us: But if they  
‘ make any necessary addition to their land forces,  
‘ in order to put themselves in a posture of defence  
‘ against dangers, which we, from the difference of  
‘ our situation, have not the least reason to apprehend,  
‘ then we are told, we ought to follow their  
‘ example: But in the present case, even the example  
‘ of the *Dutch* can be no argument: We have already  
‘ done more than they have done, we have not  
‘ only resolved to keep up the same number of land  
‘ forces, which certainly would not have been done,  
‘ if the tranquility of *Europe* had remained undisturbed;  
‘ but we have already made a very large addition to the number of our seamen; an addition,  
‘ which amounts to a greater number of men,  
‘ than that number of land forces, which the *Dutch*  
‘ have only resolved not to reduce; so that tho’ we  
‘ be not near so much exposed to the danger as the  
‘ *Dutch*, yet we have already very far exceeded them,  
‘ in the expence we have put ourselves to, on account  
‘ of the war.

‘ We are next told, that the towns in *Flanders* are  
‘ in a very bad situation, and no way provided for  
‘ defence. For God’s sake, Sir, are we thus to be  
‘ eternally the dupes of *Europe*? If the Emperor,  
‘ or any other power, neglects to keep their fortified  
‘ places in a proper posture of defence, must we answer  
‘ for that neglect? Are we, for the sake of preserving  
‘ the balance of power in *Europe*, to undertake  
‘ at our own charges, to defend every power

‘ in *Europe*, and to prevent their being invaded or  
 ‘ conquered by any of their neighbouring powers?  
 ‘ Such arguments, Sir, I should think ridiculous, if  
 ‘ made use of for persuading us to put ourselves to  
 ‘ the least additional expence; but they are much  
 ‘ more so, when they are the only arguments made  
 ‘ use of, for prevailing with us to make a total sur-  
 ‘ render of our liberties. Surely gentlemen must  
 ‘ think this house mighty ready to resign the liberties  
 ‘ of their country, when they make such propositions,  
 ‘ and support them by such arguments.

‘ To me, Sir, it really appears, as if this propo-  
 ‘ sition had been made by way of experiment, to see  
 ‘ what lengths we might be prevailed on to go; and  
 ‘ if we agree to it, I am sure it is what we can never  
 ‘ answer for to ourselves, our constituents, or our  
 ‘ posterity: Nay, we cannot answer for it even to  
 ‘ his Majesty himself; for it is a destroying of the  
 ‘ rights of Parliament; and as his Majesty’s right to  
 ‘ the crown, is founded on the rights of Parliament,  
 ‘ whatever tends to the destruction of the one, must  
 ‘ tend to the destruction of the other. The Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, Sir, is the guardian of the crown as well as  
 ‘ of the people. We are to protect the people in  
 ‘ the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, we are  
 ‘ likewise to protect the crown against wicked and  
 ‘ evil counsellors; and, in my opinion, the message  
 ‘ now before us, and the proposition now made to  
 ‘ us, are of such an extraordinary nature, that if the  
 ‘ spirit of liberty, that spirit, which brought about  
 ‘ the revolution, and established the present family  
 ‘ upon the throne, is not already quite extinguished  
 ‘ in this nation, we may soon expect to see a Parlia-  
 ‘ ment, that will not only censure, but condemn and  
 ‘ punish those, who have been the chief advisers of  
 ‘ such a measure.’

Mr. Solicitor General spoke next for the question;  
 after him Sir *John Hynd Cotton* spoke against it; and  
 then



then the question was put, which upon a division, Question put.  
was carried in the affirmative by 248 to 147.

The address was accordingly drawn up, and presented to his Majesty by the whole house, on *Monday* the first day of *April*: To which his Majesty returned a most gracious answer.

ON the 3d of *April*, the order of the day, for the house of Commons to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole house, on the bill for enabling his Majesty to issue and apply a certain sum (1,200,000*l.*) therein to be mentioned, out of the sinking fund, being read, a motion was made, that the said Committee might have power to receive a clause of appropriation, with a power to his Majesty to apply such sums of money, as should be necessary for, or towards the increase of the expences, that should arise by the augmentation of his Majesty's forces by sea or land, as his Majesty in his great wisdom should judge necessary to make, and for concerting such measures as the exigency of his affairs might require.

Appropriating and unappropriating clause.

This appropriating and unappropriating clause (as it was called by some gentlemen) stood great debates, and was strenuously opposed in both houses; and in the house of Lords it occasioned the following protest.

*Die Jovis, 11mo Aprilis, 1734.*

*Hodie 2da vice lecta est billa*, intituled, An act for enabling his Majesty to apply the sum of one million two hundred thousand pounds out of the sinking fund, for the service of the year 1734, and for appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament. Protest against the application of the sinking fund.

Proposed to commit the bill: Which being objected to, and long debate thereupon,

The question was put, Whether this bill shall be committed?

It was resolved in the affirmative.

*Dissentient.*

1. **B**Ecause the taking away, in this manner, the whole produce of the sinking fund, has a tendency, as we apprehend, to the destruction of parliamentary credit and national faith; and is more dangerous in its consequences, as it is founded upon a doctrine newly laid down, That the proprietors of all the debts subscribed to the *South-sea* company, have no right to their principal money, but only to an annuity of 4 *per Cent.* and if this opinion should be thought to be countenanced by Parliament in passing this bill, we are apprehensive, that the effects of it may be too soon and severely felt, especially since the said proprietors have found by experience, that they have been paid off, when their annuities, or stocks, were above par; and the sinking fund is now diverted, when, as we apprehend, the said stocks and annuities are likely to fall considerably under par.

2. Because we look upon this proceeding to be contrary to the contract, understood to have been made, between the public and those creditors, who consented to the reduction of their interest, in confidence, that their principal and remaining interest, would thereby be better secured; in pursuance of which, an act was made, in the third year of his late Majesty's reign, whereby it was enacted, That the monies to arise from time to time, by certain surplusses, excesses, and overplus monies therein specified (which are commonly called the sinking fund) shall be appropriated for discharging the principal and interest of such national debts and incumbrances, as were incurred before the 25th day of *December*, 1716, and were declared to be national debts, and were provided

provided for by act of Parliament, in such manner and form, as should be directed or appointed in any future act or acts of Parliament; and the said act of Parliament is confirmed by another act, made in the 6th year of his late Majesty, which (after reciting, that the said overplus money will be greatly increased, as it was from the 24th of *June*, 1727) applies the said overplus monies, as they stood appropriated by the former act, and likewise establishes a contract between the public, and every individual creditor of the public, that subscribed to the *South-sea* company, that the said subscribing creditors shall have a perpetual annuity of 4 *per Cent.* from the year 1727, until they should be paid off; and then applies the sinking fund so increased, to pay off such debts, as were contracted before the 25th of *December*, 1716, and declared to be national debts, and provided for by act of Parliament; which, if it is pursued, will be the most effectual means (as it is the strongest stipulation that can be made) for paying off the national debt. And these appropriations in the said acts, were manifestly made, to prevent the application of the sinking fund to the current service of the year, or to the payment of any debts incurred since the year 1716, which, like the present navy debt, may have lain dormant as long as they could possibly be concealed, and been occasioned by ministers, who have run the nation into larger expences every year, than they thought for their interest to demand from Parliament. We apprehend the greater danger from this proceeding, by considering the steps which have been taken, before it came to this point. At first, some surplusses were distinguished out of the sinking fund, and supplies for the current service of the year raised upon them. Then a sum of five hundred thousand pounds, being surplusses of the said fund, over the million which had been annually paid off, was applied last year in the same manner. Now the whole is taken at once; and we

may justly suspect, that the next attempt will be to mortgage the sinking fund; the consequence of which will inevitably be (as we conceive) a total destruction of parliamentary credit, and introduce a necessity of taxing the funds. The next step is more easy to be foreseen, than proper to be expressed.

3. Because the appropriating clause in this act is, in effect, an unappropriation of all the money that has been raised this year, and puts it in the power of a minister, to divert any of the supplies, to whatever purposes he shall think fit; and this, in consequence only of an unprecedented message from the crown, specifying neither the dangers apprehended, nor the services proposed; whereas appropriating clauses, were introduced to prevent the secret ill use of public money, and every tendency to break through them, is a just foundation for parliamentary jealousy and inquiry; and therefore we apprehend, that we cannot answer it to the nation, if we should acquiesce, when such innovations are attempted.

4. Because this new method of unappropriating money, raised for particular uses, frustrates and eludes the wisdom and caution of Parliaments in the original grant of those monies, which is always in consequence of estimates laid before the other house, and for services specified; and this too, at the beginning of the session in a full house: Whereas, this unappropriating clause comes in, not only at the end of the session, but at the end of the Parliament, in a thin house, after many gentlemen were obliged to go to their respective countries, and the house may be apprehended to have consisted chiefly of such, who had either no business in the country, or had particular reasons for not going there, till this clause should be first passed, and take effect.

5. Because

5. Because this clause gives ministers such a latitude to embezzle or misapply the public money, that we apprehend it to be of the most dangerous consequence: For the accounts (if any) given afterwards of the disposal of such sums, tho' impossible to be credited, may be impossible to be disproved. Domestic fortunes may be raised out of foreign subsidies, and the money asked for our defence, and granted for our safety, may be employed for our destruction. The vote of credit in the year 1726, and what was built upon it, cost the nation one million, seven hundred, ninety-seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty pounds, exclusive of the great increase of forces by sea and land, that were granted by Parliament; four hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds were never accounted for to Parliament; and the rest were accounted for under the articles of money paid to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, amounting to one million, seventy-nine thousand, seven hundred pounds; to the crown of *Sweden*, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; to the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, one hundred thousand pounds; to exchange to the *Hessians*, ten thousand, three hundred thirty-five pounds; to exchange to *Denmark*, twenty-two thousand, six hundred ninety-four pounds: And all this expence was incurred, to guard against dangers which the administration then gave out, they apprehended from the exorbitant power of the house of *Austria*.

6. Because the money raised this year amounts to three millions, nine hundred and eighty thousand pounds, One million is raised by that expensive way of mortgaging the salt for eight years; the sinking fund amounting to twelve hundred thousand pounds is taken, and every thing done that can carry an appearance of easing the land this election year: But this bill not only gives the ministers a power over the whole supply raised this year, but, by this un-



precedented device, lays a certain foundation of a greater load upon the land, which the nation may be reduced to pay off, with interest, next year: And we cannot omit this circumstance, That the money voted this year, exceeds the supply, to the amount of above one hundred thousand pounds.

7. Because we conceive this precedent to be the more dangerous, at the end of a Parliament, and may be followed, fatally for our liberties, at the conclusion of future Parliaments: For we have little reason to be sure, and as little to hope, that future Parliaments will be, like this, unbyassed, uncorrupt, uninfluenced, by the great number of employments they enjoy; zealous asserters of the laws, liberties, and constitution of their country. And should there ever hereafter unfortunately be chosen a house of Commons, consisting of a set of men, corrupted by a minister, bartering the liberties of their country for places and pensions, in the most flagitious manner; detested and despised by those they represent, they would probably, towards the end of their term, complete the measure of iniquity, by lodging such a power in the hands of their corresponding minister, as would enable him to choose them again in the succeeding Parliament, contrary to the intentions, as well as interests, of their true electors, by which means, corruption and tyranny would be entailed upon this nation, in the most dangerous manner, by the sanction of Parliament.

8. Because blending inconsistent matters of this nature, as we conceive, in a money-bill, lays this house under the utmost difficulties, since the delays occasioned by any alterations made in this house to some parts of a money-bill, may be unavoidable obstructions to other parts of it, that require expedition and dispatch.

9. Because

9. Because the extending of this unprecedented power to the 24th of *December* next, is a length of time beyond what was ever known (as we apprehend) in any case, and is, in our opinion, not only dangerous, but unnecessary : For the chief pretence for the vote, was to have power during the interval of Parliament, which may be chosen and meet much sooner, if it shall be thought convenient, after so extensive a power is lodged in the hands of the ministers for so long a term.

<i>Denbigh,</i>	<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Marlborough,</i>
<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Batburst,</i>	<i>Carteret,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Weymouth,</i>	<i>Oxford and Mort.</i>
<i>Northampton,</i>	<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Tweeddale,</i>
<i>Winchelsea and</i>	<i>Stair,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>
<i>Nottingham,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Masbam,</i>
<i>Clinton,</i>	<i>Thanet,</i>	<i>Ker.</i>
<i>Manjoy,</i>		

ON Monday the 8th day of *April*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer* acquainted the house, that he had a message from his Majesty to that house, signed by his Majesty ; which he presented to the house, and the same being read by Mr. Speaker, was as followeth,

Message  
relating to  
the Princess Royal.

### GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty having been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the great Seal of Great Britain, for settling on the Princess Royal an annuity of 5000*l.* per annum, as a mark of his royal favour and affection to her, and the laws now in being restraining his Majesty from granting the same for any longer term than his own life, hopes, he shall be enabled to make such grant for the life of the said Princess Royal, in case she shall survive his Majesty, and recommends the consideration thereof to this house.

Which

Which message was immediately taken into consideration, and leave was given to bring in a bill in pursuance of the same.

Bills receive the royal assent.

And on *Tuesday* the 16th day of *April*, his Majesty came to the house of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the many public and private bills.

After which his Majesty made the following most gracious speech to both houses of Parliament.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

His Majesty's speech.

‘ I Give you my hearty thanks for the great dispatch you have given to the public business, and for the confidence you have reposed in me, for the honour and security of my kingdom. So short a session, at so critical a conjuncture, concluded with so much unanimity, and so just a regard for the true interest of the nation, will give great weight and credit to all our transactions, and procure that respect and dependence upon the great council of this nation, which are so necessary to support the honour and interest of *Great Britain*, both at home and abroad.

*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

‘ I must acknowledge in a particular manner the zeal and readiness, which you have shewn in raising, in so effectual a manner, the necessary supplies for the service of the year. The provision you have made for paying off great part of the debt of the navy, a debt necessarily and unavoidably incurred, and carrying a higher interest than the old national debt, and which being at a discount, increased the charge and expence in all contracts of the navy and victualling, must certainly be thought of singular service to the public,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

' The time limited for the expiration of this Parliament drawing near, I have resolved forthwith to issue my proclamation for the dissolving of it, and for calling a new Parliament; that the inconveniences unavoidably attending a general election, may be put an end to, as soon as possible. But I should think myself inexcusable, if I parted with this Parliament, without doing them the justice to acknowledge the many signal proofs they have given, through the course of seven years, of their duty, fidelity and attachment, to my person and government, and their constant regard to the true interest of their country.

' The prosperity and glory of my reign depend upon the affection and happiness of my people; upon my preserving to them all their legal rights and privileges, as established under the present settlement of the crown in the Protestant line. A due execution and strict observance of the laws, are the best and only security both to sovereign and subject: Their interest is mutual and inseparable; and their endeavours for the support of each other ought to be equal and reciprocal: Any infringement or encroachment upon the rights of either, is a diminution of the strength of both, which kept within their due bounds and limits, make that just balance, which is necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and prosperity of the people: What depends upon me, shall, on my part, be religiously kept and observed; and I make no doubt of receiving the just returns of duty and gratitude from them.

' I must, in a particular manner, recommend it to you, and from your known affection do expect, that you will use your best endeavours to heal the unhappy divisions of the nation, and to reconcile the minds of all, who truly and sincerely wish the safety and welfare of the kingdom. It would be  
the

‘ the greatest satisfaction to me to see a perfect har-  
 ‘ mony restored among them, that have one and  
 ‘ the same principle at heart ; that there might be  
 ‘ no distinction, but of such, as mean the support  
 ‘ of our present happy constitution in church and  
 ‘ state, and such, as wish to subvert both. This is  
 ‘ the only distinction, that ought to prevail in this  
 ‘ country, where the interest of King and people is  
 ‘ one and the same, and where they cannot subsist,  
 ‘ but by doing so. If religion, liberty, and pro-  
 ‘ perty were never at any time more fully enjoyed,  
 ‘ without, not only any attempt, but even a sha-  
 ‘ dow of a design, to alter or invade them ; let not  
 ‘ these sacred names be made use of, as artful and  
 ‘ plausible pretences, to undermine the present esta-  
 ‘ blishment, under which alone they can be safe.

‘ I have nothing to wish, but that my people may  
 ‘ not be misguided. I appeal to their own con-  
 ‘ sciences, for my conduct, and hope the providence  
 ‘ of God will direct them in the choice of such re-  
 ‘ presentatives, as are most fit to be trusted with the  
 ‘ care and preservation of the Protestant religion,  
 ‘ the present establishment, and all the religious and  
 ‘ civil rights of *Great Britain*.’

And afterwards, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty’s command, said,

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ It is his Majesty’s royal will and pleasure, that  
 ‘ this Parliament be prorogued to *Tuesday* the four-  
 ‘ teenth day of *May* next, to be then here held ; and  
 ‘ this Parliament is accordingly prorogued to *Tues-*  
 ‘ day the fourteenth day of *May* next.



*The First Session of the Fourth Septennial Parliament.*

**T**HIS Parliament met on the 14th of *January*; when his Majesty went to the house of Peers, and the Commons being sent for, his Majesty's pleasure was signified to them, by the Lord Chancellor, that they should return to their house and choose a Speaker, and present him to his Majesty on the 23d of the same month: They returned accordingly, and unanimously chose the Right honourable *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; to be their Speaker.

On the 23d, his Majesty opened this session of Parliament, with the following speech to both houses.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

**T**HE present posture of affairs in *Europe* is so well known to you all, and the good or bad consequences, that may arise, and affect us, from the war being extinguished, or being carried on, are so obvious, that I am persuaded you are met together, fully prepared and determined to discharge the great trust reposed in you at this critical conjuncture, in such a manner, as will best contribute to the honour and interest of my crown and people.

I opened the last session of the late Parliament, by acquainting them, that as I was no ways engaged, but by my good offices, in the transactions that were declared to be the principal causes and motives of the present war in *Europe*, it was necessary to use more than ordinary prudence and circumspection, and the utmost precaution, not to determine too hastily upon so critical and important a conjuncture; to examine the facts alledged  
on

' on both sides, to wait the result of the councils of  
 ' those powers, that are more nearly and immediate-  
 ' ly interested in the consequences of the war, and  
 ' particularly, to concert with the States General of the  
 ' *United Provinces*, who are under the same engage-  
 ' ments with me, such measures as should be thought  
 ' most adviseable for our common safety, and for re-  
 ' storing the peace of *Europe*.

' We have accordingly proceeded in this great  
 ' affair, with the mutual confidence which subsists be-  
 ' tween me and that republic; and having confi-  
 ' dered together on one side, the pressing applica-  
 ' tions made by the Imperial court, both here and  
 ' in *Holland*, for obtaining succours against the  
 ' powers at war with the Emperor, and the repeated  
 ' professions made by the allies on the other side,  
 ' of their sincere disposition to put an end to the  
 ' present troubles, upon honourable and solid terms;  
 ' I concurred in a resolution taken by the States Ge-  
 ' neral, to employ, without loss of time, our joint  
 ' and earnest instances to bring matters to a speedy  
 ' and happy accommodation, before we should come  
 ' to a determination upon the succours demanded by  
 ' the Emperor. These instances did not at first  
 ' produce such explicit answers from the contending  
 ' parties, as to enable us to put immediately in exe-  
 ' cution our impartial and sincere desires for that  
 ' purpose: Resolved however to pursue so great and  
 ' salutary a work, and to prevent our subjects from  
 ' being unnecessarily involved in war, we renewed  
 ' the offer of our good offices in so effectual a man-  
 ' ner, as to obtain an acceptation of them.

' In consequence of this acceptation, and of our  
 ' declaration made thereupon to the respective powers  
 ' engaged in the war, no time has been lost in  
 ' taking such measures, as should be most proper, to  
 ' make the best use of their good dispositions for re-  
 ' establishing the tranquillity of *Europe*: And I  
 ' have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that things

are

' are now brought to so great a forwardness, that I  
' hope in a short time a plan will be offered to the  
' consideration of all the parties engaged in the pre-  
' sent war, as a basis for a general negotiation of  
' peace, in which the honour and interest of all  
' parties have been consulted, as far as the circum-  
' stances of time, and the present posture of affairs  
' would permit.

' I do not take upon me to answer for the success  
' of a negotiation, where so many different interests  
' are to be considered and reconciled; but when a  
' proceeding is founded upon reason, and formed  
' from such lights as can be had, it had been inexcus-  
' able, not to have attempted a work, which may  
' produce infinite benefits and advantages, and can  
' be of no prejudice, if we do not suffer our selves to  
' be so far amused by hopes, that may possibly be af-  
' terwards disappointed, as to leave ourselves exposed  
' to real dangers.

' I have made use of the power which the late  
' Parliament intrusted me with, with great modera-  
' tion; and I have concluded a treaty with the crown  
' of *Denmark*, of great importance in the present con-  
' juncture. It is impossible, when all the courts of  
' *Europe* are busy and in motion, to secure to them-  
' selves such supports, as time and occasion may re-  
' quire, for me to sit still, and neglect opportuni-  
' ties, which, if once lost, may not only be irre-  
' trievable, but turned as greatly to our prejudice,  
' as they will prove to our advantage by being sea-  
' sonably secured; and which, if neglected, would  
' have been thought a just cause of complaint. This  
' necessary confidence placed in me, has given great  
' weight to my endeavours for the public good.

*Gentlemen of the house of Commons,*

' I have ordered the accounts and estimates to be  
' prepared and laid before you, of such extraordina-  
' ry expences as were incurred last year, and of such  
' services

‘ services as I think highly necessary to be carried on  
 ‘ and provided for ; and whatever additional charges  
 ‘ shall be found necessary, shall be reduced, as soon  
 ‘ as it can be done consistently with the common  
 ‘ security.

‘ And as the treaty with the crown of *Denmark* is  
 ‘ attended with an expence, I have ordered the same  
 ‘ to be laid before you.

‘ I make no doubt, but I shall find, in this house  
 ‘ of Commons, the same zeal, duty and affection,  
 ‘ as I have experienced through the whole course  
 ‘ of my reign ; and that you will raise the necessa-  
 ‘ ry supplies with cheerfulness, unanimity and dis-  
 ‘ patch.

‘ The sense of the nation is best to be learn-  
 ‘ ed by the choice of their representatives ; and I  
 ‘ am persuaded, that the behaviour and conduct  
 ‘ of my faithful Commons, will demonstrate to  
 ‘ all the world, the unshaken fidelity and attach-  
 ‘ ment of my good subjects to my person and go-  
 ‘ vernment.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

‘ It is our happiness to have continued hitherto  
 ‘ in a state of peace ; but while many of the prin-  
 ‘ cipal powers of *Europe* are engaged in war, the  
 ‘ consequences must more or less affect us ; and as  
 ‘ the best concerted measures are liable to uncertain-  
 ‘ ty, we ought to be in a readiness, and prepared  
 ‘ against all events ; and if our expences are in  
 ‘ some degree increased, to prevent greater, and  
 ‘ such, as if once entered into, it would be difficult  
 ‘ to see the end of, I hope my good subjects will  
 ‘ not repine at the necessary means of procuring  
 ‘ the blessings of peace and of universal tranquillity,  
 ‘ or of putting ourselves in a condition to act that  
 ‘ part, which it may be necessary and incumbent  
 ‘ upon us to take.

After

After his Majesty was retired from the house, the Lords immediately took the speech into their consideration, and the same being read, a motion was made, ' That a dutiful address should be presented by that house to his Majesty, to return his Majesty their unfeigned thanks for his most gracious speech from the throne; to acknowledge his Majesty's care for the true interest of his people, in preventing their being unnecessarily engaged in the present war, and in concerting measures with the States General for restoring the public tranquillity; to declare their satisfaction in observing, that the good offices of his Majesty and the States General had been accepted by all parties engaged in the war; and that it was to be ascribed only to his Majesty's uncommon vigilance for the welfare of his people, and the repose of *Christendom*, that the salutary work he was engaged in, was advanced to such a degree, that a plan might be shortly offered to the consideration of the parties concerned, as a basis for a general treaty: To assure his Majesty, that they would not be amused by any hopes whatsoever, so far as to leave the security of his Majesty and his kingdoms exposed to real dangers; and that their endeavours should never be wanting to disappoint the vain expectations of those who might imagine advantages to themselves from such methods: To declare, that they trusted in that good harmony which subsisted between his Majesty and the States General; and to assure his Majesty, that they would support him in all such measures as might be necessary for securing the blessings of peace and tranquillity, or for putting this nation in a condition to act that part, which it might be incumbent on *Great Britain* to undertake: To acknowledge the felicity they enjoyed, in his Majesty's having always esteemed the interest of Sovereign and subject, as mutual and inseparable, and having made the due execution and observance of

Motion  
for an address.



- ‘ the laws the rule of his government ; and to assure
- ‘ his Majesty, that they were determined to convince
- ‘ the world, by a steady course of loyalty, that they
- ‘ considered the maintenance of their religion and
- ‘ liberties, as being involved in the support of his
- ‘ Majesty’s person and government, and in the
- ‘ preservation of the *Protestant* succession in his royal
- ‘ house ; and that it was their unalterable pur-
- ‘ pose to transmit these invaluable blessings to po-
- ‘ sterity.

This motion was introduced with speeches, the substance of which was as follows.

Speeches  
introduc-  
tory of  
this mo-  
tion.

- ‘ My Lords, as this nation was no way concern-
- ‘ ed in the transactions, which were declared to be
- ‘ the principal causes and motives of the present war
- ‘ in *Europe*, I cannot but admire the wisdom of his
- ‘ Majesty’s conduct, in preventing this nation’s be-
- ‘ ing any way engaged in it ; but, my Lords, when
- ‘ the sword is once drawn, it is impossible to foretell
- ‘ how far it may be carried, or when it will be put
- ‘ up. The parties engaged may, as yet, be mode-
- ‘ rate in their expectations, as well as their demands ;
- ‘ but success of either side may elate the minds of
- ‘ the victors, and may make them resolve to carry
- ‘ their conquests much farther, than they at the be-
- ‘ ginning really intended, and farther than is con-
- ‘ sistent with the balance of power, or the liberties
- ‘ of *Europe* ; and therefore, though this nation was,
- ‘ at first, no way concerned with the motives or
- ‘ causes of the war, yet it may at last come to be
- ‘ very deeply concerned in the event : For this rea-
- ‘ son it became necessary, as soon as the war broke
- ‘ out, to put this nation not only in a proper posture
- ‘ of defence, but in a condition to act with vigour,
- ‘ in case of need ; and in this the wisdom of his Ma-
- ‘ jesty’s councils is not less conspicuous, than in the

' care he has taken not to engage us too hastily in the  
' war.

' The most ambitious designs, my Lords, may  
' sometimes be concealed under the most plausible  
' pretences; but to penetrate into the most secret  
' springs, and to discover the real views of the par-  
' ties concerned, there was no method more certain  
' or more effectual, than that which his Majesty has  
' taken: To make an offer of his good offices, for  
' composing the present unhappy differences of *Eu-*  
' *rope*; and, in pursuance of the acceptance of his  
' good offices, to propose such a plan of peace as  
' may be consistent, as much as possible, with the  
' honour and interest of all the parties engaged in  
' war, is a certain and an infallible way to discover,  
' whether any of them have secret views, which are  
' inconsistent with the general interest of *Europe*;  
' and if any such views should be discovered, then  
' will it be proper and necessary for his Majesty,  
' and the other Princes and states of *Europe*, to join  
' together, and concert such measures as may defeat  
' those ambitious views, wherever they may be found  
' lurking and concealed.

' This, my Lord's, was the most prudent and  
' the most effectual measure which his Majesty could  
' pursue; and, in the pursuit of this measure, he  
' has taken all those steps which the most consum-  
' mate wisdom could direct: He has taken care,  
' that neither of the parties concerned should have  
' the least reason to suspect his being any way par-  
' tial in the affair; and he has, in every thing, act-  
' ed in concert with the States General of the *Unit-*  
' *ed Provinces*, who are our most natural allies, and  
' who are under the same engagements with him.  
' By this concert, if there be any Prince or State  
' in *Europe*, that entertains an ambitious view of  
' conquest, they will be made to see, that, as soon  
' as their views are discovered, they must expect to  
' be attacked by the united force of *Great Britain*

‘ and *Holland* ; and there is no more effectual way  
 ‘ of preserving the peace of *Europe*, than that of  
 ‘ depriving the ambitious of all hopes of success,  
 ‘ in any of the projects they may form, against  
 ‘ the liberties or the dominions of their neigh-  
 ‘ bours.

‘ To make this measure still more effectual, it  
 ‘ was necessary, my Lords, not only to provide for  
 ‘ our defence at home, but to arm ourselves with  
 ‘ alliances abroad, and to engage as many of the  
 ‘ Princes and States of *Europe*, not already concern-  
 ‘ ed in the war, as we could, in the same salutary  
 ‘ measures : For this reason we cannot but applaud  
 ‘ his Majesty’s conduct, in having concluded a trea-  
 ‘ ty with the King of *Denmark* ; by which, and by  
 ‘ the other treaties which his Majesty may hereaf-  
 ‘ ter conclude, it is not to be doubted, but that  
 ‘ he will be enabled to put a stop to the victori-  
 ‘ ous arms of either of the parties engaged in war,  
 ‘ in case they should attempt to carry their successes  
 ‘ and their conquests, farther than may be consistent  
 ‘ with the balance of power in *Europe*.

‘ At the same time, my Lords, we cannot but  
 ‘ admire his Majesty’s prudence and moderation, in  
 ‘ the use he has made of that power, which was so  
 ‘ reasonably granted to him by the last session of last  
 ‘ Parliament, with respect to the additions he has  
 ‘ been pleased to make to the naval or land forces  
 ‘ of this kingdom : The additions made to either  
 ‘ are but very inconsiderable ; the principal expence  
 ‘ has been occasioned by making additions to our  
 ‘ naval force, which expence is always the least bur-  
 ‘ densome, and the most useful to this nation ; and  
 ‘ the small addition that has been made to our land  
 ‘ forces, has been made in that way which is most  
 ‘ convenient to the subject, and least expensive to  
 ‘ the public : Yet, my Lords, this moderate use of  
 ‘ that power, this small additional expence which  
 ‘ the nation has been put to, joined with the pru-  
 ‘ dent

'dent measures which his Majesty has pursued  
'abroad, has already, we see, produced extraordi-  
'nary effects. It has already produced an accep-  
'tation of his Majesty's good offices, for compos-  
'ing the differences now subsisting in *Europe*; and  
'it is not to be doubted, but that a continuance of  
'the same vigorous measures, will produce a ge-  
'neral agreement to that plan of peace which his  
'Majesty, in conjunction with his allies, is to  
'propose to the parties engaged in the present  
'war.

'As these measures, and the good effects of them,  
'have proceeded from that concord and confidence  
'which have hitherto subsisted between his Majesty  
'and his Parliament, so the good effects which we  
'are yet to expect from them, must intirely de-  
'pend upon the powers at war being convinced,  
'that the same concord and confidence do still sub-  
'sist; and therefore I shall take the liberty to  
'move your Lordships, That, &c. (as before-men-  
'tioned.)

To this motion an amendment was proposed, Amend-  
That all the intermediate paragraphs between the first ment pro-  
and last should be left out, and that the motion should posed.  
stand thus,

'To return his Majesty their unfeigned thanks for  
'his most gracious speech from the throne; and to  
'acknowledge the felicity they enjoyed, in his Ma-  
'jesty's having always esteemed the interest of So-  
'vereign and subject as mutual and inseparable, and  
'having made the due execution and observance of  
'the laws the rule of his government; and to assure  
'his Majesty, that they were determined to con-  
'vince the world, by a steady course of loyalty, that  
'they considered the maintenance of their religion  
'and liberties, as being involved in the support of  
'his Majesty's person and government, and in the  
'pre-

‘ preservation of the *Protestant* succession in his  
 ‘ royal house ; and that it was their unalterable pur-  
 ‘ pose, to transmit these invaluable blessings to po-  
 ‘ sterity.’

The argument for this amendment was to the effect  
 as follows, *viz.*

Argument  
 for the  
 amend-  
 ment.

‘ My Lords, the members of this house, who are  
 ‘ in the same situation with me, must labour under  
 ‘ a very great disadvantage, when they are to give  
 ‘ their sentiments of what is proposed upon any such  
 ‘ occasion as the present. As we know nothing of  
 ‘ his Majesty’s speech, till we hear it from the throne,  
 ‘ nor any thing of the motion intended to be made,  
 ‘ till we hear it in this house, it cannot be supposed  
 ‘ that we can speak so exactly or methodically to it  
 ‘ as otherwise we might. If I had the motion, my  
 ‘ Lords, in my hand, I could exactly point out the  
 ‘ paragraphs I am to speak to ; but as I have not,  
 ‘ I hope your Lordships will allow me to speak from  
 ‘ the notes I have taken of it ; and if I have mistak-  
 ‘ en any of the paragraphs, I hope those Lords,  
 ‘ who are better acquainted with it than I am, will  
 ‘ endeavour to set me right. I shall readily admit,  
 ‘ that the motion made by the noble Duke, has  
 ‘ been drawn up with a great deal of zeal and pru-  
 ‘ dence ; and I believe it has been concerted with as  
 ‘ much care and caution, as was consistent with the  
 ‘ design.

‘ The first paragraph, my Lords, is, in my opi-  
 ‘ nion, a very proper return, from this house, to his  
 ‘ Majesty’s speech from the throne ; and the last pa-  
 ‘ ragraph is a declaration of our zeal and affection  
 ‘ for his Majesty, and his illustrious family, which  
 ‘ I think proper upon all occasions, and even neces-  
 ‘ sary at the beginning of a new Parliament, espe-  
 ‘ cially at such a conjuncture as the present : These  
 ‘ two paragraphs therefore will, I am convinced,  
 ‘ appear



' appear highly reasonable to every Lord in this  
' house ; but as for all the intermediate paragraphs,  
' it is my opinion, that they descend too much into  
' particulars for this house to agree to, without some  
' farther information than we have, as yet, before  
' us.

' I hope, my Lords, our affairs are in the condi-  
' tion represented to us in his Majesty's speech ; but,  
' as I shall always have a great regard for the ho-  
' nour and dignity of Parliament ; and, as speeches  
' from the throne have always, in the language of  
' this house, been supposed to be speeches from the  
' ministers ; therefore I cannot think it consistent  
' with the dignity of this house, to take things so  
' much upon trust, as to depend intirely upon what  
' they may be pleased, from time to time to tell us.  
' It was the ancient and the right method of Parlia-  
' ment, to keep, as much as possible, to generals up-  
' on such occasions ; to express their affection for  
' the King, and their zeal for the service of the  
' crown, but to avoid entering into any thing that  
' might look like an approbation of the measures  
' pursued by the ministers : With regard to the pro-  
' ceedings in this house, the descending into parti-  
' culars does not, 'tis true, preclude us from enter-  
' ing into future inquiries, or from censuring what  
' way be found to be wrong upon any such inquiry ;  
' but without doors it is otherwise ; for people who  
' are not perfectly acquainted with our methods of  
' proceeding, which is the greatest part of mankind,  
' look upon the address of this house as the real  
' sense of the house, with respect to every particu-  
' lar measure mentioned in that address ; and there-  
' fore, such a general approbation of all the mea-  
' sures that have been pursued, and the declaring  
' our satisfaction with so many particulars, may  
' have very bad effects, and will bring this house  
' into contempt with the generality of mankind, if  
' we should afterwards censure, and perhaps punish

‘ a minister, for those very measures, which we had  
 ‘ before so fully and so particularly approved.

‘ Speeches from the throne have always, my Lords,  
 ‘ been looked on, not only in Parliament, but even  
 ‘ without doors, as speeches drawn up by the mini-  
 ‘ sters; and the design of addresses from each house  
 ‘ of Parliament, by way of answer or return to such  
 ‘ speeches, has always been, to testify to the world,  
 ‘ the affection of the Parliament towards the King,  
 ‘ and their resolutions to support him in all such  
 ‘ measures as they shall approve of; but if we should  
 ‘ once fall into the way of answering the speech pa-  
 ‘ ragraph by paragraph, and approving, without  
 ‘ either information or inquiry, of every thing which  
 ‘ the ministers have been pleased to mention in that  
 ‘ speech, people will then begin to think, that the  
 ‘ address of this house was drawn up by the mini-  
 ‘ sters, as well as the speech; in which case, the  
 ‘ design of such addresses will be intirely frustrated;  
 ‘ they will no way affect either our friends or our  
 ‘ enemies: In short, they will become *vox & præ-*  
 ‘ *tere a nihil*.

‘ With respect to the negotiations now carrying  
 ‘ on, for restoring the tranquillity of *Europe*, I hope,  
 ‘ my Lords, they will be attended with all the suc-  
 ‘ cess which his Majesty or the nation can desire;  
 ‘ but from our past negotiations, I cannot think,  
 ‘ my Lords, we have any reason blindly to approve  
 ‘ of the present. This nation has, within these few  
 ‘ years, been engaged in a great multiplicity of diffe-  
 ‘ rent negotiations, all of them expensive, and some  
 ‘ of them such as might have been attended with dan-  
 ‘ gerous consequences: They were all intended, as  
 ‘ we were told, to preserve the peace of *Europe*, and  
 ‘ establish the public tranquillity; but if that was  
 ‘ the real and true design, no one of them proved  
 ‘ effectual for the purpose; the last treaty always  
 ‘ wanted a new one, in order to carry it into execu-  
 ‘ tion; and thus, my Lords, we have been a botch-

‘ ing

ing and piecing up one treaty with another, for several years. The peace of *Europe* and the balance of power, was to have been fully established by the treaty of *Hanover*; but we found it would not do, and therefore that treaty was pieced up with the treaty of *Seville*: This, again, we found would not do, although we had then four to one, we found it impracticable, or at least dangerous, to carry it into execution, and therefore we were obliged to conclude the treaty of *Vienna*: By this the treaty of *Seville* was executed fully, indeed, of our side; but how this last treaty is to be executed I do not know; for it now appears that, to render it effectual, some new treaty is wanting, at least as much as for any of the former. Thus we have been setting up a sort of paper credit, in treaties and negotiations; and we have, I am afraid, extended it already farther than our fund will be able to answer.

Whether this nation ought to have engaged in the war, is a question which it is impossible for your Lordships, at present, to determine, because the treaty of *Vienna* has never yet been laid before this house; and if from that treaty, when laid before us, it should appear, that we were, in honour, obliged to engage in the war, our agreeing now to the second paragraph of the motion, would no way contribute to the credit of this house: With respect to that treaty, the *Dutch* and we are upon a very different footing: By that treaty, we went plumb in at once to the guaranty of all the *Austrian* dominions, without exception or reserve, at least with regard to any of the *Christian* powers; for, with respect to the *Turks*, I think we shewed them a little more regard, by making them an exception to our guaranty. The *Dutch*, indeed, agreed likewise to that treaty; but how did they agree to it, my Lords? It was after long and mature deliberation, and, as I have been told, under several restrictions

‘ strictions and limitations ; so that, with respect to  
 ‘ the concluding of that treaty, it cannot be said that  
 ‘ we acted in concert with the *Dutch* ; and with re-  
 ‘ spect to the late transactions, whether we have acted  
 ‘ in concert with them I do not know, but I am  
 ‘ certain, they have not acted in concert with us ;  
 ‘ for they concluded a treaty of neutrality with  
 ‘ *France*, before, I believe, we knew any thing of  
 ‘ the matter ; and, notwithstanding the great ex-  
 ‘ pences we have been at, in augmenting our forces  
 ‘ both by sea and land, they have not yet added one  
 ‘ man to their land-forces, nor one ship to their naval,  
 ‘ nor have they concluded one expensive treaty ;  
 ‘ nay, I do not know if they have been at the ex-  
 ‘ pence even of one courier, unless it was such as  
 ‘ were sent on account of their treaty of neutrality.  
 ‘ How then, my Lords, can we talk of concerting  
 ‘ measures with the States General, when, from what  
 ‘ has been as yet made public, there appears to have  
 ‘ been no other concert between us, than that we  
 ‘ have perhaps, from time to time, acquainted them  
 ‘ with the measures we were to take, and the expences  
 ‘ we were to put ourselves to.

‘ As for the acceptation of our good offices, it was  
 ‘ very natural, both for the States General and us,  
 ‘ since we were not engaged in the war, to offer our  
 ‘ good offices for restoring the peace ; this was the  
 ‘ least that either of us could do, and it was natural  
 ‘ for all the powers engaged in war to accept of that  
 ‘ offer ; it was the least that either of them could do  
 ‘ in return ; because every one of them will certain-  
 ‘ ly pretend, that they are heartily inclined towards  
 ‘ peace, and are ready to agree to any reasonable  
 ‘ terms ; but when those terms come to be settled,  
 ‘ I believe, the side that appears to be the strongest  
 ‘ will have the most reason, and will insist upon the  
 ‘ other’s agreeing to such terms, as they may be  
 ‘ pleased to call reasonable ; and therefore, I do not  
 ‘ think it consistent with the dignity of this house,

‘ to

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‘ to express our satisfaction in so solemn a manner,  
 ‘ upon our good offices having been only accepted :  
 ‘ And much less can I agree to our expressing, in  
 ‘ such a particular manner, our satisfaction at a plan’s  
 ‘ being so far advanced, that it will be soon ready  
 ‘ to be offered to the parties concerned: If this plan  
 ‘ had not only been offered, but actually approved  
 ‘ by all the parties concerned, it would then have  
 ‘ been incumbent upon us to have expressed our sa-  
 ‘ tisfaction with so much vigilance and wisdom :  
 ‘ But is the simple drawing up a plan, a matter  
 ‘ of moment, worthy of the notice of this house ?  
 ‘ Is it not in every man’s power, at least every man  
 ‘ that can write, to draw up any plan he pleases ?  
 ‘ And shall we, my Lords, so solemnly take notice  
 ‘ of what might have been done by any writing  
 ‘ clerk in *Europe* ? I appeal to every one of your  
 ‘ Lordships, if this is not exposing the proceedings  
 ‘ of this house to the utmost contempt ; and if,  
 ‘ upon the publishing of that plan, it should appear  
 ‘ to be no very extraordinary one, what will the  
 ‘ world then say of these our anticipated enco-  
 ‘ miums ?

‘ His Majesty, in his speech, has been pleased to  
 ‘ tell us, that he has concluded a treaty with *Den-*  
 ‘ *mark*, which is, it seems, to be laid before the  
 ‘ other house, and the reason given for so doing is,  
 ‘ because it is to be attended with some expence ;  
 ‘ but this treaty we have neither seen, nor is it so  
 ‘ much as promised to be laid before us, and therefore  
 ‘ it is impossible to say any thing for it or against it.  
 ‘ Whether this treaty was concluded in concert with  
 ‘ the *Dutch*, I do not know, but it does not appear  
 ‘ that they are to contribute any thing to the charge  
 ‘ of it ; and even without seeing the treaty, I may  
 ‘ take notice, that if the balance of power in *Europe*  
 ‘ be in any danger, the King of *Denmark* is as much  
 ‘ concerned in its preservation as we are ; and by an  
 ‘ express treaty between the Emperor, and him, he  
 ‘ is,



‘ is, as much as we are, engaged to guaranty his  
‘ Imperial Majesty’s dominions ; so that by this new  
‘ treaty with us, the King of *Denmark* has laid him-  
‘ self under no obligations that I can hear of, but  
‘ what he was before engaged in, both by his own  
‘ interest, and by his treaties with the Emperor ; and  
‘ yet we are, it seems, to pay him a large annual  
‘ subsidy : However, my Lords, as these matters  
‘ will come in more properly to be considered, when  
‘ the treaty this laid before us, I shall at present take  
‘ no farther notice of them, but only to observe, that  
‘ by approving of all measures in general, as is  
‘ proposed by this motion, we approve of this treaty,  
‘ before we have either seen it, or know any thing  
‘ about it.

‘ If we are no way concerned in the present war,  
‘ if we have given no reasonable cause of offence to  
‘ any of the powers of *Europe*, what occasion is there,  
‘ my Lords, for putting any threatening words into  
‘ our address ? To assure his Majesty, that we will  
‘ be ready to support him in such measures as may  
‘ be incumbent on us to undertake, is certainly a  
‘ threatening way of expressing ourselves, and will  
‘ probably be taken as such, by some of the powers  
‘ now engaged in war. I wish, my Lords, we  
‘ were in a better condition than we are ; I wish the  
‘ nation were free of that heavy load of debts,  
‘ under which it groans at present ; but while we  
‘ are oppressed with such a load of debts, and such  
‘ a number of taxes, all mortgaged and pre-engaged,  
‘ is this nation in a condition to threaten, or can we  
‘ pretend to frighten the powers of *Europe*. We  
‘ may be able, we must defend ourselves when at-  
‘ tacked ; but surely we ought not to draw an attack  
‘ or an insult upon ourselves, by threatening others  
‘ with what we will do, at a time when none of our  
‘ neighbours have so much as a design to disturb us,  
‘ at least, in so far as we have yet been told, by  
‘ those

those who ought to acquaint us, in case they suspect we are in any danger.

This paragraph, my Lords, is very inconsistent with the former part of the motion: By the second paragraph, we are to acknowledge his Majesty's care for the true interest of his people, in preventing their being unnecessarily engaged in a war; and, by this paragraph, we are to make use of such menacing words, as may engage his Majesty in a war whether he will or no, or whether it be the interest of his people or not. This, I say, appears to me, to be altogether inconsistent, and therefore, if these two paragraphs stand part of the motion, I hope the latter will be a little softened; but I have, I think, shewn sufficient reasons, for leaving them, and all the intermediate paragraphs out; for which reason, I shall conclude with moving for this amendment, That &c. (as before mentioned.)

The answer made to this argument was in substance thus:

My Lords, the noble Lord who proposed the amendment to the motion now before us, set out with such an eulogium upon it, that I imagined he was to agree with it in every particular; and I began to indulge myself, with the hopes of having the satisfaction to find, that his Lordship's opinion was the same with mine. I was glad to hear his Lordship acknowledge, that the motion had been drawn up with a great deal of zeal, a great deal of prudence, and a great deal of caution: In this I agree with him; for I think the motion made to us by the noble Duke, is so prudently, and so cautiously worded, that I am surprised to hear the least objection made to it.

Answer to the argument for amendment.

If by any such address, my Lords, this house were to be precluded from all future inquiries; nay, my Lords, if there were any words in the address

now

' now proposed, which might be interpreted as an  
 ' exprefs approbation of any particular measure that  
 ' has been pursued, I should think there might be  
 ' reason for the amendment proposed; but as no  
 ' such thing can be presumed, from any part of the  
 ' motion made to us, I cannot find the least reason  
 ' for such a thorough reformation, as what is pro-  
 ' posed by the amendment. I have as great a re-  
 ' gard for the honour and dignity of Parliament, as  
 ' any Lord in this house; but I likewise have a great  
 ' regard for the duty and respect we owe to the  
 ' King; and, after his Majesty has been graciously  
 ' pleased, in his speech, to give us so full an account  
 ' of his conduct, I must leave it to your Lordships  
 ' to consider, how odd, how disrespectful it would  
 ' look in us, to take no manner of notice in our an-  
 ' swer, of any one thing he has told us, but only in  
 ' general to thank him for his speech from the  
 ' throne, and to declare, what I hope no man has  
 ' just reason to doubt of. Would not people gene-  
 ' rally from thence conclude, that we regarded very  
 ' little what his Majesty had told us, and would not  
 ' his enemies from thence imagine, that his Parlia-  
 ' ment put no confidence in him? This is what the  
 ' noble Duke was aware of; and therefore, to shew  
 ' our respect to his Majesty, he has touched gene-  
 ' rally, upon every thing, that his Majesty has been  
 ' pleased to mention in his speech; but, at the  
 ' same time, his motion is conceived in such terms,  
 ' as cannot any way interfere with the honour and  
 ' dignity of this house, or with any of our future  
 ' proceedings.

' As for our former treaties and negotiations, it  
 ' is not my business, at present, to vindicate all or  
 ' any of them; but as they have been taken notice  
 ' of by other Lords in this debate, I hope your  
 ' Lordships will indulge me with leave, to make  
 ' some few observations upon them. In treating  
 ' and negotiating with foreign powers, I do not  
 ' know,

know, my Lords, that any general rules can be established ; for whatever rules we may prescribe to ourselves, we can prescribe none to the foreign courts we have to do with ; and therefore, we must always direct our measures, according to the humours we find in them, and according to the various incidents that occur. This was the case with respect to the treaty of *Hanover* : A dangerous league had been formed against the honour, the trade, and the possessions of this nation : These designs we had given no occasion to, by any false step, by any provocation, or by any mismanagement on our parts ; but after we found they were actually formed, it became necessary for us to concert measures for preventing their execution ; and that was effectually done by the treaty of *Hanover*. This was all that was, or could be intended by that treaty, and every one knows, how effectual it proved, for the purpose it was designed : We thereby disappointed all the warlike projects of *Spain* against this nation ; and after we had convinced them, that they could get no advantage by being at enmity with us, then, and not till then, was it a time to think of restoring a good correspondence between the two nations ; and this was fully effected by the treaty of *Seville*. We had then nothing to do, but to make up that breach, which the Imperial court had made between us and them, by their entering into the league with *Spain* against us ; and by the treaty of *Vienna*, not only this breach was made up, but a thorough reconciliation was established, to all human appearance, between the Emperor and *Spain* : By this last treaty, therefore, it must be granted, that the affairs of *Europe* were put upon just such a footing as we ought to desire ; and if treaties since made, or measures since pursued by foreign courts, have overturned or disturbed the establishment that was then made, surely we are not to be blamed ; for I know of

no

‘ no treaty we have since concluded, nor any nego-  
 ‘ tiation we have since carried on, except those we  
 ‘ have lately been obliged to conclude or carry on,  
 ‘ either for preventing the present war, or for re-  
 ‘ storing the peace of *Europe*; and if these last prove  
 ‘ as effectual as our former treaties and negotiations  
 ‘ have done, neither this house nor the nation will  
 ‘ have any reason to find fault with them.

‘ Now, my Lords, with respect to the several  
 ‘ paragraphs, proposed by the amendment to be left  
 ‘ out of the motion, let us but consider them one  
 ‘ after another, and we shall find them all conceived  
 ‘ in such general terms, that there can be no good  
 ‘ reason assigned for leaving any of them out; and  
 ‘ the respect we owe to his Majesty, must be a strong  
 ‘ argument in favour of every one of them; because  
 ‘ we are certainly in duty, nay, in common de-  
 ‘ cency, bound to take some sort of notice, of every  
 ‘ thing he has mentioned in his speech. By the  
 ‘ first, we only acknowledge his Majesty’s care, in  
 ‘ preventing our being unnecessarily engaged in the  
 ‘ war. Do we by this, my Lords, either affirm or  
 ‘ deny our being engaged, by the treaty of *Vienna*,  
 ‘ or by any other treaty, to take a share in the war?  
 ‘ Have we then any occasion to consult the treaty  
 ‘ of *Vienna*, before we agree to the making of this  
 ‘ return to his Majesty’s speech? Suppose it should  
 ‘ afterwards appear, that we were by the treaty of  
 ‘ *Vienna*, or otherwise, engaged to have joined in  
 ‘ the war at the very beginning; will what is now  
 ‘ proposed, preclude our inquiry into that affair, or  
 ‘ will any censure we can pass upon those who ad-  
 ‘ vised the contrary, shew any inconsistency in the  
 ‘ proceedings of this house? And as to our acknow-  
 ‘ ledgments to his Majesty, in relation to his having  
 ‘ concerted measures with the *Dutch*, for restoring  
 ‘ the public tranquillity; this too is conceived in such  
 ‘ general terms, that we neither affirm nor deny his  
 ‘ having done so; therefore, we are left at full liberty



‘ to consider this affair likewise hereafter, and to  
‘ come to such resolutions, as may then appear just  
‘ and reasonable.

‘ As this paragraph of the address proposed, is  
‘ conceived in such general terms, I do not think it  
‘ at all necessary for us at present to inquire, how  
‘ far we are engaged by the treaty of *Vienna*, or  
‘ how far his Majesty and the States General have  
‘ proceeded in concert together; but allow me, my  
‘ Lords, to say something in answer to what has been  
‘ alledged upon both these heads. With regard to  
‘ our engagements by the treaty of *Kienna*; it is  
‘ true, the Emperor has demanded succours from  
‘ us, and insists that we are, by that treaty, obliged  
‘ to furnish them; but as this war was occasioned  
‘ by the affairs of *Poland*, in which we had no con-  
‘ cern, it is certain we are no way obliged, by that  
‘ treaty, or any other I know of, to furnish any suc-  
‘ cours, either to him, or to any other power now  
‘ engaged in the war. Then as to the concert be-  
‘ tween the *Dutch* and us, tho’ the forms of their  
‘ government, did not allow them to join with us  
‘ at first in the treaty of *Vienna*, yet the negotiation  
‘ antecedent to that treaty, must certainly have been  
‘ carried on in concert with them, because they are  
‘ named as principal contracting parties in the treaty;  
‘ and they acceded to it, as soon as the necessary  
‘ forms of their government would admit. Their  
‘ accession may have been, for what I know, clog-  
‘ ged with several restrictions and limitations; but  
‘ whatever these restrictions or limitations were, it  
‘ is certain that the Emperor, in the present con-  
‘ juncture, looks upon them to be as much obliged  
‘ as we are, to furnish him with the stipulated suc-  
‘ cours, and has accordingly made as peremptory  
‘ demands for these succours upon the *Dutch*, as he  
‘ has made upon us.

‘ The treaty of *Neutrality* has likewise been mentioned, as concluded by the *Dutch*, without any concert with us. Whether the design of that treaty was communicated to this court, I shall not take upon me to determine ; but as neither the *Dutch* nor we had any concern in the war at the beginning, or can hereafter be any way concerned in the war, unless that barrier should be attacked, or that either of the parties engaged should attempt to carry their conquests so far, as to endanger the balance of power in *Europe*, surely their concluding a treaty of neutrality for that barrier, could no way concern us, nor can it be looked on as any way inconsistent with that concert, which ought to be kept up between us, especially considering, that even by that treaty they reserve to themselves a liberty of fulfilling all their engagements to the Emperor, and would, notwithstanding that treaty, be at full liberty to engage in the war, if either party should, under pretence of what has happened in *Poland*, attempt to overturn the balance of power in *Europe*.

‘ The *Dutch*, it is true, my Lords, have not as yet made any augmentation of their forces, either by sea or land ; but we may easily find a reason for it, if we will but recollect the great reduction they had actually resolved to make of their land forces, just before the present war broke out. This reduction they have ever since suspended, on account of the war, and for no other reason ; and therefore it is to be looked on as an augmentation made in concert with us, for rendering more effectual those measures we may jointly take for restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing the balance of power. From all which, I think it is evident, that the concert between the *Dutch* and us, which is so necessary for both our interests, has been exactly observed by both, in every measure in which we had a joint concern.

‘ The

' The next paragraph proposed to be left but, is  
 ' that by which we declare our satisfaction in observ-  
 ' ing, that his Majesty's good offices have been ac-  
 ' cepted of; and that a plan of peace may be short-  
 ' ly offered to the parties concerned: As his Ma-  
 ' jesty has, in his speech, been pleased to mention both  
 ' these particulars to us, it would, my Lords, in my  
 ' opinion, be very disrespectful in us, not to say one  
 ' word of either in our address, by way of return to  
 ' his Majesty's speech; and the noble Duke has  
 ' proposed to mention them in such a general man-  
 ' ner, that I wonder to hear it found fault with. It  
 ' is not to be questioned, but that all the parties en-  
 ' gaged in war will declare, they are ready to except  
 ' of reasonable terms; such declarations are not, in-  
 ' deed, of any great consequence; but, my Lords,  
 ' the acceptance of good offices is a great deal  
 ' more; it is in some manner the accepting of a  
 ' mediation, and submitting, as it were, to the arbi-  
 ' tration of a third party. Declarations may per-  
 ' haps be easily obtained, and may be of no effect  
 ' when obtained; but the acceptance of a media-  
 ' tion, or of good offices, is not so easily obtained;  
 ' we know that they have been often refused, and  
 ' the accepting of them always shews a great defe-  
 ' rence and respect to the power whose good offices  
 ' are accepted of; and therefore it is no way be-  
 ' neath the dignity of this house to declare our  
 ' satisfaction in observing, that his Majesty's good  
 ' offices have been accepted.

' As to the plan to be offered to the consideration  
 ' of the parties concerned, if, by what is proposed,  
 ' we were to declare our approbation of that plan,  
 ' there would be some reason for the objection made;  
 ' but as we are to declare nothing in relation to the  
 ' plan itself, and as we must presume, that no plan  
 ' will be offered by his Majesty, but such a one as  
 ' he thinks all parties concerned ought to accept, the

‘ acknowledging his Majesty’s vigilance for the re-  
 ‘ pose of *Christendom*, in that respect, cannot surely  
 ‘ be any way inconsistent with the dignity of this  
 ‘ house, nor can it be attended with any bad con-  
 ‘ sequences ; for if this house should afterwards find  
 ‘ fault with the plan offered, and should resolve to  
 ‘ censure those who advised it, there is nothing in the  
 ‘ motion now before us, that can any way obstruct or  
 ‘ prevent such a proceeding.

‘ The last paragraph found fault with, is said to  
 ‘ be a threatening paragraph, and we have been told,  
 ‘ that the nation is not now in a condition to threaten.  
 ‘ Upon this, my Lords, I shall observe, in ge-  
 ‘ neral, that if the nation be in no condition to  
 ‘ threaten, we are the more obliged to his Majesty  
 ‘ for the care he has taken to prevent our being un-  
 ‘ necessarily engaged in the present war. But, my  
 ‘ Lords, I cannot agree with the noble Lord in  
 ‘ thinking that there is a threat, or any thing like a  
 ‘ threat in this paragraph ; and if there were, I am  
 ‘ very sure it cannot be supposed to be levelled  
 ‘ against any but those who may deserve, and must  
 ‘ expect something more than threats, let the nation  
 ‘ be in what condition it will : What is said in this  
 ‘ paragraph, cannot be presumed to be levelled  
 ‘ against any but those who shall endeavour to amuse  
 ‘ us with vain hopes, in order to bring the security  
 ‘ of his Majesty and his kingdoms, into real dan-  
 ‘ ger, by overturning the balance of power in  
 ‘ *Europe* : In such a case, though this nation might  
 ‘ not perhaps, be directly and immediately attack-  
 ‘ ed, yet, it is to be hoped, we would not look  
 ‘ quietly and cowardly on, till it was out of our  
 ‘ power to defend ourselves : It is not to be doubt-  
 ‘ ed, but his Majesty would, in time, concert pro-  
 ‘ per measures for the security and preservation of  
 ‘ his crown and kingdoms ; and, I hope this house  
 ‘ will always be ready to support his Majesty in all  
 ‘ such measures. Therefore, my Lords, if there be

‘ at present no power in *Europe* endeavouring to  
 ‘ amuse us with such hopes, there is nothing in this  
 ‘ paragraph that can be taken as a threat by any  
 ‘ power in *Europe*, and if there be any such designs  
 ‘ secretly harboured, those who harbour them, not  
 ‘ only deserve to be threatened, but they ought to  
 ‘ be attacked as soon as they attempt to put them  
 ‘ in execution.

‘ The late treaty with *Denmark* is not so much  
 ‘ as mentioned in the motion now made to us, and  
 ‘ therefore I cannot see what we have to do with it  
 ‘ at present. His Majesty has indeed told us, that  
 ‘ he has concluded such a treaty ; and he has told  
 ‘ the other house, that it is to be laid before them,  
 ‘ because it is to be attended with some expence :  
 ‘ This, my Lords, is the only reason his Majesty  
 ‘ can have for laying any treaty before either house  
 ‘ of Parliament, before it be called for by the house ;  
 ‘ and as that expence is to be first considered by the  
 ‘ other house, therefore his Majesty told them, that  
 ‘ he had ordered the treaty to be laid before them ;  
 ‘ but if any of your Lordships has a mind to move  
 ‘ for that treaty’s being laid before this house, I shall  
 ‘ be so ready to agree to it, that I shall second the  
 ‘ motion ; and till it be laid before us, I cannot see  
 ‘ how it can properly come under our considera-  
 ‘ tion. However, I shall, in the mean time, make  
 ‘ this general remark, that if we should have the  
 ‘ misfortune of being obliged to engage in the war,  
 ‘ it must be granted, that it would be very proper  
 ‘ to have *Denmark* of our side, and that there-  
 ‘ fore it was not only proper but necessary to con-  
 ‘ clude this treaty with them ; for if this treaty had  
 ‘ not been concluded, every one may judge what sort  
 ‘ of treaty would have been concluded with that court.

‘ That, my Lords, I hope I have shewn, that  
 ‘ there is nothing in the motion made to us by the  
 ‘ noble Duke, that is any way inconsistent with the  
 ‘ honour and dignity of this house ; that there is no  
 ‘ thing



‘ thing but what is necessary for shewing our duty  
 ‘ and respect to his Majesty ; and therefore I hope  
 ‘ your Lordships will be of opinion with me, that  
 ‘ there is no occasion for the amendment pro-  
 ‘ posed.’

To this it was replied in substance as follows, viz.

Reply.

‘ The doctrine, now laid down to us, seems to  
 ‘ me, my Lords, extremely new, and absolutely  
 ‘ inconsistent with the ancient method of proceeding  
 ‘ in Parliament. We are now told, that we shall  
 ‘ be wanting in that respect which is due to his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty, if we do not in our address take some no-  
 ‘ tice of every particular mentioned in his Majesty’s  
 ‘ speech. This, my Lords, is something very ex-  
 ‘ traordinary : The ancient, and what ought to be  
 ‘ the only design of his Majesty’s speech to his Par-  
 ‘ liament, at the opening of their session, was to in-  
 ‘ form them of his reasons for calling them toge-  
 ‘ ther, and of the demands he had to make upon  
 ‘ them ; and to answer every particular mentioned  
 ‘ in his Majesty’s speech, was always hitherto under-  
 ‘ stood to be the business of the whole session of Par-  
 ‘ liament, and not the business of the first or second  
 ‘ day of that session. The addresses of Parliament,  
 ‘ by way of answer or return to this speech, were  
 ‘ formerly never any thing more but a general ac-  
 ‘ knowledgment of thanks for the speech from the  
 ‘ throne, and general assurances of loyalty and fide-  
 ‘ lity to the King, and of supporting him in what-  
 ‘ ever should appear to them to be reasonable. The  
 ‘ King was so far from expecting to have every par-  
 ‘ ticular answered in that address, and high compli-  
 ‘ ments made on every paragraph of his speech, that  
 ‘ happy was our King, of old, if he could but get a  
 ‘ proper answer to each particular during the whole  
 ‘ session. Our Parliaments were not then so ready  
 ‘ to grant, nor had they so much politeness as pass  
 ‘ any

‘ any compliments without a due consideration, and  
 ‘ without being fully convinced of the truth and ju-  
 ‘ stice of what they were to say: But if this new  
 ‘ doctrine prevails, we shall have speeches made at  
 ‘ the beginning of each session, not with a design to  
 ‘ inform the Parliament of the true state of affairs,  
 ‘ or to acquaint them with the King’s demands, but  
 ‘ contrived by the Ministers, on purpose to catch at  
 ‘ compliments, and to dazzle the eyes of the people  
 ‘ with panegyrics bestowed upon their measures by  
 ‘ both houses of Parliament.

‘ In the language of Parliament, my Lords, we  
 ‘ are not only to take care not to affirm expressly,  
 ‘ or deny what may afterwards appear to be other-  
 ‘ wise; but we are to take care not even to insinuate  
 ‘ what may afterwards appear to be false. In this  
 ‘ light, my Lords, let us consider the motion that  
 ‘ has been made to us, and we shall find, that every  
 ‘ paragraph proposed to be left out, bears an infi-  
 ‘ nuation of a fact, which may afterwards appear to  
 ‘ the whole world to be false; and if it should hap-  
 ‘ pen so, I leave to your Lordships to consider, what  
 ‘ the world must say of the honour and good sense  
 ‘ of this house; for surely they cannot approve of  
 ‘ both. Lords may say what they will of this house’s  
 ‘ not being precluded by any thing in the address,  
 ‘ or prevented from future inquiries or censures: It  
 ‘ is true, my Lords, as a house of Parliament, we  
 ‘ are not; but I will say, that the passing of such  
 ‘ compliments, as have of late been too usual in  
 ‘ our addresses, is a sort of forestalling the opi-  
 ‘ nions of many Lords in this house; for after my  
 ‘ having agreed to a panegyric, either express or  
 ‘ by insinuation, upon any measure pursued by the  
 ‘ ministers, I should be sorry to find afterwards that  
 ‘ such a measure deserved censure; and therefore it  
 ‘ is certain, it would be difficult to convince me of it;  
 ‘ nay, even after conviction, I believe human  
 ‘ weak

‘ weakness would make me loth to agree to the putting a public mark of ignominy upon that, which I had formerly agreed to applaud, even by insinuation.

‘ Having now endeavoured to shew, that our respect to the King, or the generality of the expressions proposed to be made use of, can be no argument for our descending into so many particulars; allow me, my Lords, to descend into those particulars, and examine every one of them separately, by way of reply to the observations the noble Lord has been pleased to make on them; but first let me take some notice of what the noble Duke said in relation to our former treaties and negotiations. He told us, that in treating with foreign powers, no general rules could be established; in which I must beg leave to differ from him; for, I believe there are many general rules may be established: I shall mention only two, which are, That we ought always to observe, and, as punctually as possible, comply with the terms of those treaties we enter into: And the other general rule is, That we ought to enter into no treaties but such as are for the interest of our native country. These are two general rules, which are, by the nature of things, established, though I doubt much if they have been always observed. By the treaty of *Hanover*, my Lords, we are told, that dangerous designs against this nation were prevented; designs which had been formed against us by the treaty of *Vienna*, between the Emperor and *Spain*: But this is a fact that has always been disputed; and if the fact was false, I am very sure the treaty of *Hanover* was very much contrary to the interest of this nation: Nay, considering how improbable it is, that the Imperial court would enter into the measures then attributed to them; or that the Imperial and *Spanish* courts, united together, could conceive hopes of doing any great injury

‘ injury to *Britain*, there is some reason to believe,  
‘ that the story was invented by a court, whose in-  
‘ terest it then was to break, by any means, the good  
‘ correspondence that was, by the treaty of *Vienna*,  
‘ established between the courts of *Vienna* and *Ma-*  
‘ *drid*, and whose interest it will always be to fo-  
‘ ment jealousies and divisions between the courts of  
‘ *Vienna*, *Madrid* and *London*. I will agree with  
‘ the noble Duke, that the correspondence between  
‘ *Spain* and us, which was broke off by the treaty of  
‘ *Hanover*, was, in some measure, I will not say  
‘ altogether, restored by the treaty of *Seville* ; but I  
‘ wish he had told us, at whose expence that corres-  
‘ pondence was restored, or what other honour or  
‘ advantage the nation reaped from that treaty ; and  
‘ if, by the treaty of *Vienna*, a correspondence was  
‘ restored between the Emperor and us, I am afraid  
‘ our correspondence with *Spain* was, by that new  
‘ treaty, a little disturbed ; and the union, which  
‘ now subsists between *France* and *Spain*, was effec-  
‘ tually established : So that, upon the whole, I do  
‘ not see, that this nation has many advantages to  
‘ brag of from our late treaties and negotiations ;  
‘ and if the treaty of *Vienna*, between the Emperor  
‘ and *Spain*, was not such a treaty as it was most in-  
‘ dustriously represented by us to be, I am very cer-  
‘ tain the nation has already greatly suffered by the  
‘ mistake, and may suffer a great deal more in time  
‘ to come.

‘ But now, my Lords, to return to the paragraphs  
‘ of the motion which, by the amendment, are pro-  
‘ posed to be left out. To these I shall speak with  
‘ the more freedom, because I do not think his Ma-  
‘ jesty any way concerned in the question. I shall  
‘ always be ready to join in acknowledging our duty  
‘ and fidelity to the King ; but when we are to pass  
‘ compliments upon measures, it is to the ministers  
‘ we make these compliments, and I shall never be  
‘ for this house’s descending so low, as blindly to  
‘ pass

' pass compliments on them. By the first of these  
 ' paragraphs we are to acknowledge the care of the  
 ' ministers, in preventing our being unnecessarily  
 ' engaged in the present war. My Lords, if this  
 ' be not a direct affirmation, it is as strong an insi-  
 ' nuation as this house can make, that we were no  
 ' way obliged, either by treaty or by interest, to en-  
 ' gage in the present war; and if, upon inquiry, it  
 ' should afterwards come out, that we were, from the  
 ' very beginning, obliged, both by treaty and by  
 ' interest, to have engaged in the war, what would  
 ' the world think of this house, if we should agree  
 ' to the address this day proposed; nay, I must  
 ' appeal to the Lords that are against me in this  
 ' motion, what they would think of themselves for  
 ' having agreed to such an address; they would be  
 ' obliged to acknowledge, at least, that they had  
 ' been imposed on, and such an acknowledgment can  
 ' add nothing to the character of any man, much  
 ' less can it add to the character of any Lord of Par-  
 ' liament.

' If there were then no manner of reason to pre-  
 ' sume, that we were any way obliged to engage in  
 ' the present war, we ought not, my Lords, to  
 ' come in blindly to the making of such an insinua-  
 ' tion in our address: But, in the present case there  
 ' is some reason to presume, that we were actually  
 ' obliged, if not to engage as principals, at least to  
 ' engage as allies and guarantees. The noble Duke  
 ' has told us, that the Emperor has not only de-  
 ' manded the succours stipulated by the treaty of  
 ' *Vienna*, but insists upon it, that we ought directly  
 ' to furnish them. I shall not pretend to say, my  
 ' Lords, that the Imperial ministers are in the right;  
 ' on the contrary, I hope they have no manner of  
 ' reason for the demand they have made; but as we  
 ' have neither seen the treaty of *Vienna*, nor the rea-  
 ' sons alledged by the Imperial court for the demand  
 ' they have made, surely we ought not thus blindly



to insinuate, that there is nothing in what they have said upon that subject.

Now, my Lords, let us take the other side of the case; let us suppose that we were no way obliged, either in honour or interest, to concern ourselves in the present war; In such a case, what would that minister have deserved, that should have advised his Majesty to plunge the nation into a war, in which we had no manner of concern? Would not he have deserved the highest resentment of this house, would not he have deserved the heaviest vengeance his country could have brought upon his guilty head? And shall we, my Lords, make a fine compliment to a minister, for not doing, what? For not doing that for which he ought to have lost his head upon a scaffold.

I am really surpris'd, my Lords, to hear it pretended, that the treaty of *Vienna* was concluded, or the negotiation for that purpose carried on, in concert with the *Dutch*; since it is so well known, that they were so far from being principally contracting parties, that it was after long delays, and with much difficulty that they acceded to it; and that they did not even at last accede, but under several restrictions and limitations, and after having obtained several additions and explanations, in favour of their own country: They, like a wise state, took that opportunity to have all disputes and differences with the contracting powers, agreed and settled to their own liking; as they were, by that treaty, to do a very great favour to the Emperor, they took care to have something in return; and it were to be wished, that we had followed their example, in every treaty we have lately made. They were, indeed, named in the treaty of *Vienna* as principal contracting parties, but how they came to be so I could never yet comprehend; the Imperial court submitted to it, perhaps at that time, because they had a very great favour to ask, and it

was

‘ was very much their interest to have the *Dutch* become parties in that treaty ; but how we came to submit to have any power named, as a principal contracting party in a treaty with us, without their being as ready to sign it as we were, I cannot yet comprehend.

‘ As for their not having made that reduction of their land-forces, which was proposed before the war broke out ; it is very certain they have not, even now, a greater number of forces, than is necessary for defending the extensive frontiers of their country, and supporting the many garrisons they are obliged to keep up ; so that if they had made any reduction, they must have trusted to some of their neighbours for their defence ; but, supposing that they might have safely made that reduction, their having suspended it, cannot be called acting in concert with us ; because we have not only suspended making that reduction in our land-forces, which we might easily have made, and which we ought to have made if the war had not broke out ; but we have made large additions to our forces both by sea and land ; and yet it must be acknowledged that we are not, by our situation, so immediately exposed to danger as the *Dutch* are. From hence, my Lords, it is to me evident, that the concert between the *Dutch* and us, can consist in nothing, but, as has been already said, in our having acquainted the *Dutch* with the measures we were to take, and the expences we were to put ourselves to ; and such a concert does not, in my opinion, deserve a compliment from this house, not even in the most general terms that can be thought of.

‘ I must submit to your Lordships, whether the compliment proposed to be made, upon the acceptance of our good offices, and upon the plan of peace, does not bear a very strong insinuation, that we think it was reasonable and necessary for us to

‘ offer

offer our good offices ; that these our good offices are accepted of in such a manner, as may give great hopes of their success, and that it was proper for us to thrust ourselves so far into other people's affairs, with which we declare we had no concern, as to propose a plan for an agreement ; and considering the profound ignorance we have been kept in, with relation to all our late foreign transactions, I do not see how we can, in honour, pretend to make any such insinuations. It is an old observation, my Lords, that arbiters often draw upon themselves the resentment of both the parties at variance : In private life, it is always reckoned a dangerous undertaking, especially when the arbitration is offered, without being desired by either of the parties concerned : In public affairs the maxim will hold equally true, and therefore no wise state will be ready to intermeddle in foreign broils, unless by such intermeddling they have a view of procuring some particular advantage to themselves : The balance of power in *Europe* is not yet in such a dangerous state, as to require our being so very busy and officious ; and when it comes to be so, the other powers of *Europe*, not yet engaged in the war, are as much interested, and ought to intermeddle as much as we ; so that, upon a strict inquiry, it may perhaps appear, that even the offer of these good offices was not only unnecessary, but officious, and without any view to the particular advantage of this nation : And if, upon inquiry, it should appear, that the acceptance of these good offices has been made, by every one of the powers concerned, in such terms as cannot give any hopes of success, how can we answer to the honour and the dignity of this house, for making such anticipated and such rash insinuations.

The plan to be offered by us, may appear to be a wise and a good one, it may appear to be other-  
wise ;

' wife ; but, my Lords, if, upon inquiry, it should  
 ' appear, that even the offering of our good offices  
 ' was rash and officious, surely the proposing of a  
 ' plan, and setting ourselves up openly, as law-giv-  
 ' ers to the other Princes and states of *Europe*, must  
 ' appear to be much more so, and may involve this  
 ' nation in difficulties and dangers, we seem at pre-  
 ' sent to be very little aware of : It may produce  
 ' confederacies against us ; it may unite the powers  
 ' of *Europe* in a league, to pull down the pride of  
 ' *Great Britain* : which is a case that has often before  
 ' happened ; a case by which almost every one of  
 ' the powers of *Europe* has been, some time or ano-  
 ' ther, brought very near to their utter destruction.  
 ' I do not know, my Lords, but that the *Dutch* may  
 ' have acted in concert with us, both in the offering  
 ' our good offices, and in the drawing up and pro-  
 ' posing this plan of peace which is to be offered :  
 ' In this, I say, they may have acted in concert with  
 ' us, because it put them to no expence ; but I am  
 ' afraid it will at last appear, nay, perhaps they may  
 ' endeavour to make it appear, that their acting in  
 ' such a manner, proceeded intirely from a politi-  
 ' cal complaisance, they were obliged to shew to  
 ' *Great Britain* ; so that in the end, they may get  
 ' as much honour and advantage as we, by the suc-  
 ' cess, and can no way suffer by the disappointment.  
 ' As to the threatening paragraph, my Lords, I  
 ' am very sure, that if a man in a private company  
 ' should swagger, and swear, he would not be amus-  
 ' ed ; he would not be imposed on ; he would al-  
 ' ways be ready to act that part which was incum-  
 ' bent on him to undertake : If I were one of the  
 ' company, I should look upon it as a threatening  
 ' sort of declaration ; and if there had been any dis-  
 ' pute between him and me, if I had but refused any  
 ' thing he desired of me, I should look upon it as a  
 ' threat designed directly against me : Indeed, if such  
 ' a blusterer had had no dispute with any one of the

company, I should look upon him as a bully and a very silly fellow. In public life, I think, my Lords, it is the same : When it becomes necessary for this nation to act, I hope we shall always act with that vigour and courage which is worthy of *Great Britain* ; but I shall always be against our making any bullying or blustering declarations, till it becomes necessary for us to carry them directly in execution ; and therefore I must be against this part of the motion.

It is true, my Lords, the late treaty with *Denmark* is not mentioned particularly in the motion ; but when we talk so much of the wisdom, the right reason, and the prudence of his Majesty's councils, which, in the language of Parliament upon this occasion, is understood to be the wisdom, the right reason, and the prudence of his Majesty's ministers, I must presume, and all the world will, I believe, presume, that the late treaty with *Denmark* is included among the rest ; and I cannot applaud the wisdom, the right reason, and the prudence of that treaty, before I know what it is. We are told, my Lords, that if that treaty had not been concluded, some other would : I do not know, my Lords, that this nation is at present in any danger of being attacked, and therefore I do not know any reason we had to pay a subsidy to *Denmark*, in order to prevent that King's making any treaty he had a mind ; but if we were to be attacked, surely we are not to become tributary to him, and to pay him a yearly tribute, under the name of a subsidy, to prevent his joining with any power whatever against us ; and if the preservation of the balance of power ; was the only motive for entering into such a treaty, if that was in any real danger, he was certainly as much concerned for its preservation as we ; and therefore we are not to suppose, that he would have concluded any treaty to its disadvantage : From such reasoning, my Lords, as I have



‘ have this day heard in this house, one would really  
 ‘ imagine, that we are to take the care of preserving  
 ‘ the balance of power in *Europe* intirely upon our-  
 ‘ selves ; which if we do I can easily foresee, that  
 ‘ most of the Princes of *Europe* will always take ad-  
 ‘ vantage of our officious care, and our ridiculous  
 ‘ apprehensions, and will refuse to act with vigour  
 ‘ even in their own defence, unless we pay them a  
 ‘ yearly subsidy for so doing.

‘ I shall conclude, my Lords, with observing,  
 ‘ that if it was necessary for his Majesty, to lay this  
 ‘ treaty before the other house, because it was to be  
 ‘ attended with some expence, the very same reason  
 ‘ made it necessary for his Majesty to order it to be  
 ‘ laid before this house ; for, although grants of mo-  
 ‘ ney are first made by the other house, no such  
 ‘ grant can be effectual, without the consent of this.  
 ‘ It would seem then, that when a demand is to be  
 ‘ made on the other house, for any grant of money,  
 ‘ the reason for making such demand is to be laid  
 ‘ before them, without their asking for it ; but when  
 ‘ we are to consent to that very grant, no reason is  
 ‘ to be laid before us, unless we ask for it. This,  
 ‘ my Lords is a different sort of behaviour, with  
 ‘ respect to the two houses, which I shall make no  
 ‘ remark on, but leave to your Lordship’s con-  
 ‘ sideration.

‘ From what I have said, my Lords, I hope I  
 ‘ have made it appear, that every paragraph, pro-  
 ‘ posed to be left out of the motion now before us,  
 ‘ is inconsistent with the honour and dignity of this  
 ‘ house, and that neither the duty nor the respect we  
 ‘ owe to his Majesty, require our putting any one of  
 ‘ them into our address ; but that the first and last  
 ‘ paragraphs of the motion are sufficient, and as  
 ‘ much as by the ancient usage of Parliament, was  
 ‘ customary upon such occasions ; and therefore I  
 ‘ hope your Lordships will agree to the amendment  
 ‘ proposed.’

The question first put was as usual, for agreeing Questions to the amendment proposed, upon which there was put. a division; and there being but 37 Contents to 89 Not Contents, the amendment was disagreed to by a majority of 52.

The question, consequently, next put, was, To agree to the motion, which was carried without a division; and a committee being named to draw up the address, they retired to the Prince's chamber; and being returned, the address drawn up was read and agreed to the same day, and is as follows, viz.

*Die Jovis, 23 Januarii, 1734.*

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal The Lords subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal in address. Parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

The many blessings we enjoy, under your Majesty's mild and auspicious government, are happily felt by all your people; among which your paternal care and tenderness for their true interest, in employing your unwearied endeavours, to prevent their being unnecessarily involved in the present war, stand signally distinguished: And it would argue the highest degree of ingratitude in us, if we did not acknowledge ourselves sensibly affected by the benefits that have accrued from this prudent conduct.

In this your Majesty has given the world fresh proofs of your just sentiments of true and solid glory, since you have preferred the real prosperity and ease of your subjects to all other considerations; and in that view have concerted measures with the States General of the *United Provinces* (the ancient

‘ and natural allies of the *British* crown) for restoring  
 ‘ the public tranquillity.

‘ It is with the utmost satisfaction we observe, that  
 ‘ in consequence of this proceeding, the good offices  
 ‘ of your Majesty, in conjunction with them, have  
 ‘ been accepted by the several parties engaged in the  
 ‘ war; and we cannot suffer ourselves to doubt, but  
 ‘ the interposition of the maritime powers, united in  
 ‘ interest and mutual friendship, will have its just  
 ‘ weight.

‘ When we turn our thoughts to the various and  
 ‘ different views of the Princes and powers concerned,  
 ‘ we find ourselves obliged, with the utmost thank-  
 ‘ fulness, to ascribe it to your Majesty’s uncommon  
 ‘ vigilance and attention to the welfare of your  
 ‘ people, and the repose of *Christendom*, that no  
 ‘ time hath been lost in making use of any good  
 ‘ dispositions of the respective powers at variance;  
 ‘ and that this salutary and extensive work is ad-  
 ‘ vanced to such a degree, that a plan may shortly  
 ‘ be offered to their consideration, as a basis for a  
 ‘ general treaty.

‘ The events of negotiations, as well as of war,  
 ‘ are, in the nature of things, liable to uncertainty:  
 ‘ But when we reflect on the many instances we have  
 ‘ experienced, of right reason and prudence being the  
 ‘ governing rule of your Majesty’s actions, we pro-  
 ‘ mise ourselves, that these your generous labours,  
 ‘ for procuring universal tranquillity, will merit that  
 ‘ good success, which all well-disposed minds wish  
 ‘ they may be attended with.

‘ At the same time permit us to assure your Ma-  
 ‘ jesty, that we are incapable of being so far amused  
 ‘ by any hopes whatsoever, as to leave the security  
 ‘ of your Majesty and your kingdoms exposed to  
 ‘ real dangers; and that our endeavours shall ne-  
 ‘ ver be wanting, to disappoint the vain expecta-  
 ‘ tions of any, who shall be so presumptuous, as

‘ to imagine advantages to themselves from such methods.

‘ The wisdom of your Majesty’s councils, and that steadiness and constancy which are inherent in your royal mind, joined with a harmony which subsists between your Majesty and that powerful republic, in concert with which this great transaction has been carried on, will, we trust, in due time prevail over all unreasonable opposition : And that this may be the happy effect of your good offices, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, with that resolution and firmness which become the Peers of *Great Britain*, on so important an occasion, that we will chearfully support your Majesty in all such measures, as may be necessary for procuring the blessings of peace and tranquillity, or for putting this nation in a condition to act that part, which it may be incumbent on *Great Britain* to undertake.

‘ It is a felicity which we ought, in a most affectionate manner, to remember on every occasion of approaching your sacred person, that your Majesty hath always esteemed the interest of Sovereign and subject, as mutual and inseparable ; and made the due execution and observance of the laws the rule of your government : As your Majesty, agreeably to your repeated declarations from the throne, hath invariably held this conduct towards your subjects, we can entertain no doubt, but you will find the same inviolable and unshaken fidelity, and the same zeal for the true honour and happiness of your Majesty, and your kingdoms (which can never be divided) both from your Parliament and your people.

‘ On our parts, we humbly intreat your Majesty to accept the strongest assurances, that we are determined, by a steady course of loyalty and dutiful affection to your Majesty, and a firm perseverance in pursuing the true interest of our country, to

‘ convince the world, that we most seriously consider the maintenance of our religion and liberties, as being absolutely involved in the security and support of your Majesty’s person and government; and in the preservation of the *Protestant* succession in your royal house; and that it is the unalterable purpose of our hearts, under the protection of the Divine Providence, to transmit these invaluable blessings safe and intire to our posterity.’

This address was next day presented to his Majesty, and his Majesty returned the following answer, viz.

My Lords,

The  
King’s  
answer.

*I Thank you for this loyal and affectionate address. The concern that you shew for the success of my endeavours, in conjunction with the States General, for restoring the public tranquillity, is very acceptable to me.*

*Nothing shall be wanting, on my part, that may contribute thereto; and the duty and affection of my Parliament and people, upon which I depend in all events, will add great weight to my endeavours.*

Speakers. The motion for this address was made by the Duke of *Devonshire*, and seconded by the Lord Viscount *Harrington*.

The amendment to the motion was proposed by the Lord *Carteret*; was opposed by the Duke of *Newcastle* and the Lord *Hardwick*; and was supported by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the Lord *Batburst*, and the Earl of *Strafford*.

The 23d, 24th and 25th days of *January*, there was nothing done in the house of Commons, these three days being intirely taken up in administering the



the oaths to the Speaker and the several members present.

ON Monday the 27th day of *January*, after the Session was opened, by reading a bill for preventing clandestine outlawries, and the usual orders and resolutions made, Mr. Speaker reported, that when the house attended his Majesty in the house of Peers, his Majesty was pleased to make a most gracious speech, of which, he said, to prevent mistakes, he had obtained a copy, which being read to the house, the following motion was made and seconded, viz.

‘ That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of that house, for his most gracious speech from the throne; to acknowledge his Majesty’s wisdom and goodness, in pursuing such measures, as tended towards procuring peace and accommodation, rather than to involve this nation and all *Europe*, too precipitately in a general and bloody war; to express the just sense that house had, of his Majesty’s tender regard for the public repose and tranquillity, and of his unwearied endeavours in forming, in concert with the States General, such a plan of a general pacification, as his Majesty in his great wisdom, conceived was consistent with the honour and interest of all parties, as far as the circumstances of time, and the present posture of affairs would permit: to assure his Majesty, that that house would chearfully and effectually raise such supplies, as should be necessary for the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms; and, whatever should be the success of his Majesty’s gracious endeavours, to procure the blessings of peace and general tranquillity, would enable his Majesty to act that part, which honour and justice, and the true interest of his people, should call upon him to undertake.

Speech  
read in the  
house of  
Commons.

Motion  
for an ad-  
dress in  
that house.

This motion was introduced with speeches, to the same effect with the speeches made for introducing the motion in the house of Lords, and therefore shall not be repeated.

Several speeches were made, in relation to those paragraphs in the motion, which seemed to imply a general approbation of former measures, before any amendment was proposed; but at last the following amendment, to the last paragraph of the motion, was proposed, *viz.*

Amend-  
ment pro-  
posed.

‘ To assure his Majesty, that after a full state of the affairs of the nation had been laid before them, and considered by them, they would chearfully and effectually raise such supplies, as should be necessary for the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms, and in proportion to the expences to be incurred by the other powers, who were under the same engagements with this nation, and not then involved in the war; and whatever—

The first part of this amendment being disapproved of by some gentlemen, who were for the second part; it was accordingly agreed to be amended, and then it stood thus:

Amend-  
ment a-  
mended.

‘ To assure his Majesty, that that house would chearfully and effectually raise such supplies, as should be necessary for the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms, and in proportion to —

The substance of this whole debate is contained in the following argument, answer and reply.

The argument for leaving out the paragraphs approving of former measures, and for the amendment proposed, was to this effect, *viz.*

‘ As this, Sir, is a new Parliament, I hope we Argument.  
 ‘ shall begin with shewing a little more regard to  
 ‘ the ancient custom and dignity of Parliaments than  
 ‘ has been shewn of late years. In former times,  
 ‘ the addresses of this house, in return to his Majesty’s  
 ‘ speech from the throne, were always conceived  
 ‘ in the most general terms: Our ancestors would  
 ‘ never condescend upon that occasion, to enter into  
 ‘ the particulars of his Majesty’s speech: When  
 ‘ they were to approach the King, and to declare  
 ‘ their affection and their fidelity to him, they  
 ‘ thought it was inconsistent with that fidelity they  
 ‘ were to declare, to approve, upon that occasion, of  
 ‘ any ministerial measures; and much more so, to  
 ‘ declare their satisfaction with measures they knew  
 ‘ nothing about. This house is the grand inquest of  
 ‘ the nation, appointed to inquire diligently, and to  
 ‘ represent faithfully to the King, all the grievances  
 ‘ of his people, and all the crimes and mismanage-  
 ‘ ments of his servants; and therefore it must always  
 ‘ be a breach of our fidelity to our Sovereign, as well  
 ‘ as a breach of our duty to his people, to approve  
 ‘ blindly the conduct of his servants. When we  
 ‘ have examined diligently, and considered delibe-  
 ‘ rately the conduct of any minister, and are at last  
 ‘ fully convinced, that he has acted prudently and  
 ‘ wisely for the public good; it is then our duty, to  
 ‘ return him the thanks of the public, and to repre-  
 ‘ sent him as a faithful minister to his master: But  
 ‘ to make panegyrics upon the conduct of any of the  
 ‘ King’s servants, before we have examined into it,  
 ‘ or know any thing about it, is more like the lan-  
 ‘ guage of slaves and sycophants to a prime mini-  
 ‘ ster, than that of loyal and faithful subjects to their  
 ‘ Sovereign.

‘ I must acknowledge, Sir, that the motion now  
 ‘ made to us, is more general, and more adapted to  
 ‘ the ancient custom of Parliament, than most I have  
 ‘ heard, since I have had the honour to be a mem-

ber of this house: I hope we shall not find, that this extraordinary modesty, proceeds from a consciousness of misconduct: For the sake of the public, I heartily wish we may find, that it proceeds from superior merit; which is, indeed, generally attended with superior modesty: But, as I have always been, upon such occasions, against general encomiums upon ministers; and as the proposition now before us, or at least a great part of it, implies a general approbation of all our late measures, particularly those relating to the present war, which the majority of this house are, in my opinion, intirely ignorant of, I cannot agree to it; because I have not yet learned complaisance enough to approve of what I know nothing about, much less to approve of what I violently suspect to be wrong.

I had the honour, Sir, to be a member of this house in last Parliament; and I remember several motions were then made, for getting some insight into the state of our foreign affairs, and our late transactions: Motions which to me appeared highly reasonable and even absolutely necessary to be complied with, before the house could reasonably comply with the demands that were then made upon them; but every one of these motions had a negative put upon it: I have always had a suspicion of the works of darkness; I do not like any conduct, that cannot stand the light at noon-day; and therefore, I am afraid some of our late transactions are such, as no man would approve of, if they were exposed to public view: We have been long amused with hopes of some extraordinary benefits, that were to accrue to the nation, from our many tedious and expensive negotiations; we have been long in expectation; but when one negotiation was over, we have been always told to have patience; the next was to accomplish all our desires: We have accordingly had a great deal of patience; but,

' but, in so far as I can comprehend, I can observe  
 ' no benefits that have accrued, or are like to accrue ;  
 ' but on the contrary, many dangers and disadvan-  
 ' tages ; so that the whole train of our late negotia-  
 ' tions really seems to me, to have been calculated  
 ' for no other end, but to extricate a set of puzzled,  
 ' perplexed negotiators, from some former blunder,  
 ' by which they have generally been led into a se-  
 ' cond, of worse consequence than the first : Every  
 ' subsequent negotiation seems to me to have had no  
 ' other view or design, but to get rid of some di-  
 ' lemma, we were thrown into by the former ; and  
 ' happy have we thought ourselves, after a great  
 ' deal of money spent, if we could but recover our  
 ' former condition. In short, Sir, if any gentle-  
 ' man will rise up and shew me any addition, or any  
 ' new advantage, with respect either to our trade or  
 ' our possessions, that this nation has acquired by  
 ' any of our late transactions, I shall agree to the  
 ' motion ; but considering the great expence this  
 ' nation has been but to, and the great losses many  
 ' of our merchants have, without any redress or satis-  
 ' faction, sustained, I cannot agree to pass compli-  
 ' ments upon, or declare my satisfaction with, our  
 ' late management in general, till it be made appear  
 ' to me, that these public and private losses have  
 ' been some way balanced by national advantages.

' The second paragraph of the motion, I am,  
 ' indeed, surpris'd at, upon another account ; to  
 ' make our acknowledgments to his Majesty, for not  
 ' involving the nation *too precipitately* in a bloody war,  
 ' is, in my opinion, very far from being a compli-  
 ' ment to his Majesty ; It is impossible, it is not to  
 ' be presumed that his Majesty can do any such  
 ' thing ; but if it were possible, and if any such  
 ' thing had been done, to be sure it would have been  
 ' doing the nation a very notable mischief ; and ac-  
 ' cording to the idiom of our language, at least in  
 ' private life, to thank a man, or to make our ac-  
 ' knowledgments



' knowledgments to a man, for his not doing us a  
 ' notable mischief, is a contemptuous way of ex-  
 ' pressing ourselves, and is always an insinuation,  
 ' that from such a man's malice, or his weakness, or  
 ' imprudence, we expected some notable mischief;  
 ' and therefore, when we are disappointed, when the  
 ' mischief is not so great as we expected, we say,  
 ' by way of contempt, that we are obliged to him.  
 ' If none but ministers were concerned in this part  
 ' of the motion, I should have let it pass without  
 ' any remark, nay, I should have readily agreed  
 ' to it; but as his Majesty is concerned, I hope the  
 ' gentlemen who made the motion, will take care to  
 ' have it some way altered, if they are resolved to  
 ' have it stand part of the address. This shews,  
 ' Sir, how apt people are to fall into blunders, when  
 ' they attempt to make extravagant and forced com-  
 ' pliments, and therefore I wish we would resolve  
 ' to avoid such dangers, by confining our address to  
 ' a general acknowledgment of thanks to his Ma-  
 ' jesty, for his most gracious speech from the throne,  
 ' and a declaration of our affection towards him, of  
 ' our attachment to his family, and of our zeal for  
 ' his service.

' However, Sir, as it has been granted upon all  
 ' hands, that nothing contained in our address can  
 ' prevent the future inquiries of this house, or can  
 ' be a bar to our censuring what we shall, upon in-  
 ' quiry, find to be amiss; therefore I shall propose  
 ' no amendment to the former part of the motion:  
 ' But I must take notice of one thing which is ap-  
 ' parent, without any inquiry, to every man in this  
 ' house, to every man who knows any thing of pub-  
 ' lic affairs; and that is, the great charge this nation  
 ' has already been put to, on account of the war,  
 ' while the other powers of *Europe*, not yet engaged  
 ' in the war, have not put themselves to one shilling  
 ' expence: Nay, even our allies the *Dutch*, who, as  
 ' his

his Majesty has been pleased to tell us, are under the same engagements with us, have not put themselves to the least charge on account of the present war. Now, Sir, as his Majesty has told us, that we had no concern with the causes and motives of the war, we cannot therefore be involved in it, unless it be for the preservation of the balance of power; and as all our allies are as much interested in this respect as we are, it is reasonable they should bear their proportionable share of the expence; and as they have yet done nothing like it, I think it is become necessary for us, to take some notice of this matter in our address to his Majesty; for which reason, I shall move for this amendment to the latter part of the address.' Then moved as before mentioned in the amendment amended.

To this it was answered in substance as follows, *Answer.* viz. 'Sir, as several gentlemen who have spoken in this debate, seem to want a much more thorough reformation in the motion now before us, than what is proposed by the amendment, I must beg leave to take some notice, of what they have said in general, before I come to speak to the amendment proposed. We have been told a great deal, Sir, of the ancient usage and custom of Parliament, with respect to their manner of addressing the King, by way of return to his speech from the throne: What the gentlemen may mean by this ancient usage, or at what time they have a mind to fix it, I do not know; but I am very sure, that ever since I had the honour to sit in Parliament, I never knew an address proposed in more general terms, than that now before us; and therefore, I am apt to conclude, that no address can be proposed in this house, but what some gentlemen will find fault with. I shall agree with the honourable gentlemen, that one of the chief ends of our meeting here, is to inquire diligently, and represent faithfully

‘ fully to the King, the crimes and mismanagements,  
 ‘ of his servants, as well as the grievances of his  
 ‘ people ; but when his Majesty has given us an ac-  
 ‘ count of his conduct, surely that does not hinder us  
 ‘ from making him such general compliments, upon  
 ‘ the account he has been pleased to give us, as may  
 ‘ not obstruct our future inquiries, or prevent our  
 ‘ censures, in case we should afterwards find, that  
 ‘ any of his servants had acted unfaithfully or im-  
 ‘ prudently, even with respect to those very affairs,  
 ‘ he has been pleased to give us an account of in his  
 ‘ speech.

‘ It has been acknowledged, that the motion  
 ‘ now before us, is more general than what is usual  
 ‘ upon such occasions ; but it is to be feared, it  
 ‘ seems, that this extraordinary modesty proceeds  
 ‘ from a consciousness of misconduct. At this rate,  
 ‘ Sir, the gentlemen who have the honour to serve  
 ‘ the crown, must have a very hard task : If they  
 ‘ or their friends propose a long and particular ad-  
 ‘ dress, they are then accused of endeavouring to  
 ‘ impose upon the honour and dignity of this house ;  
 ‘ and if they propose a short address, and expressed  
 ‘ in the most general terms, insinuations are then  
 ‘ made, that their modesty proceeds from a con-  
 ‘ sciousness of guilt ; so that, let them choose which  
 ‘ way they will, it is impossible for them to avoid  
 ‘ censure : Yet even this address, general as it is, is,  
 ‘ it seems, to be looked on as an encomium upon the  
 ‘ ministers, and as an approbation of what we know  
 ‘ nothing about ; but, in my opinion, if we examine  
 ‘ the several paragraphs, it will appear to be neither  
 ‘ the one nor the other.

‘ By the first paragraph found fault with, it is  
 ‘ proposed to acknowledge his Majesty’s wisdom  
 ‘ and goodness, in pursuing such measures as tend  
 ‘ towards procuring peace and accommodation : By  
 ‘ this, Sir, we do not declare, that his Majesty has  
 ‘ pursued such measures, nor do we approve of the  
 ‘ measures

‘ measures he has pursued ; but when those measures  
‘ are made public, if it should appear that they were  
‘ such as tended to procure peace and accomoda-  
‘ tion ; surely this house, nay, the whole world,  
‘ ought to acknowledge his Majesty’s goodness and  
‘ wisdom in that respect ; and all that can be sup-  
‘ posed to be meant by this paragraph is, to ac-  
‘ knowledge that there is more wisdom and goodness  
‘ in pursuing such measures, as might tend towards  
‘ procuring peace, than in pursuing such measures  
‘ as might tend to involve the nation and all *Europe*,  
‘ too precipitately in war : This then cannot, I  
‘ think, be supposed to be an encomium upon any  
‘ minister, nor an approbation of any of the measures  
‘ that have been pursued.

‘ By the other paragraph it is proposed, to express  
‘ the just sense we have of his Majesty’s regard for  
‘ the public tranquillity, and of his endeavours to  
‘ form, in concert with the States General, such a  
‘ plan of pacification, as his Majesty conceives is  
‘ consistent with the honour and interest of all par-  
‘ ties, as far as the circumstances of time, and the  
‘ present posture of affairs will admit : Here again  
‘ we approve of nothing : We do not approve of  
‘ the plan that is to be offered ; we do not so much  
‘ as approve of any one step that has been taken in  
‘ the forming of that plan ; we only acknowledge  
‘ his Majesty’s tender regard for the public tranquil-  
‘ lity, in endeavouring to form such a plan as may  
‘ restore it : This surely is what no man can deny,  
‘ nor hesitate one moment in acknowledging it ;  
‘ and, I believe that it will be as readily granted,  
‘ that it was better to form this plan in concert with  
‘ the States General, than to form it without any  
‘ such concert : So that I cannot really comprehend  
‘ how this paragraph can be interpreted to be an  
‘ encomium upon any minister, or an approbation  
‘ of any measure : And therefore, tho’ we knew  
‘ nothing of the measures that have been pursued,  
‘ nay,



‘ nay, tho’ we even had a violent suspicion, that  
 ‘ wrong measures have been pursued, neither our  
 ‘ ignorance nor our suspicions can be any objection  
 ‘ to either of these paragraphs.

‘ As to our ignorance of the measures that have  
 ‘ been lately pursued, it is certain we are ignorant  
 ‘ of a great many of them, and it is necessary it  
 ‘ should be so; for with respect to public trans-  
 ‘ actions, especially those with foreign courts, it is  
 ‘ absolutely necessary that many of them should re-  
 ‘ main secret for several years after they are passed;  
 ‘ nay, there are some that ought for ever to remain  
 ‘ a secret; and that any transaction can remain a  
 ‘ secret long after it had been communicated to this  
 ‘ house, I believe no gentleman will pretend to affirm;  
 ‘ for tho’ the members of this house might perhaps  
 ‘ depend upon the fidelity and the secrecy of one  
 ‘ another, yet we cannot answer for the strangers  
 ‘ that may be among us. This, Sir, was the only  
 ‘ reason why this house was pleased to put a ne-  
 ‘ gative upon the motions pointed at by the honour-  
 ‘ able gentlemen; and as I had likewise the honour  
 ‘ to be then a member of this house, I heard such  
 ‘ reasons given for not complying with those motions,  
 ‘ as convinced me, that a compliance with any one  
 ‘ of them, would have been one of the greatest in-  
 ‘ juries we could have done our country: It was not  
 ‘ that the authors of those transactions were afraid,  
 ‘ on their own accounts, that the transactions they  
 ‘ had been concerned in, should be exposed to public  
 ‘ view; it was impossible it could be so; for if they  
 ‘ had been possessed with any such fears, if they had  
 ‘ given the least ground to suspect they were so, it  
 ‘ would have been a good, and, I am persuaded, a  
 ‘ prevailing reason for this house, to have complied  
 ‘ with those motions.

‘ But, Sir, as to the suspicions that some gentle-  
 ‘ men may entertain, with regard to all or any of  
 ‘ our past measures; it is impossible to say any thing

‘ to



‘ to them, unless the gentlemen will be pleased to  
‘ acquaint us with the grounds of their suspicion :  
‘ When they do that, it may perhaps be in gentle-  
‘ men’s power to shew, that those grounds are very  
‘ far from being solid. They talk of our having  
‘ been for a long time amused with hopes, and of  
‘ our having been desired to have patience : It is  
‘ true, Sir, there are some among us, not in the  
‘ house, I hope, but, in the nation, I will say, there  
‘ are a great many, who have been long amused with  
‘ hopes, who have had a great deal of patience :  
‘ They have, indeed, been under a continual course  
‘ of patience ever since the beginning of the late  
‘ reign : They have not yet seen, and I wish they  
‘ may never see that event happen, which they have  
‘ been so long hoping for, which they have waited  
‘ for with so much patience ; and, in my opinion,  
‘ the many disappointments they have met with, is  
‘ one of the best reasons that can be assigned for our  
‘ having no cause to suspect any misconduct in our  
‘ late measures. I do not think it the interest of this  
‘ nation to be fond of adding much to our posses-  
‘ sions ; and considering the ambition of foreign  
‘ courts, and the disturbances given to our govern-  
‘ ment by a disaffected party at home, our having  
‘ preserved intire our foreign possessions, and pre-  
‘ vented all invasions upon our people at home, is  
‘ an argument, that all our late measures have been  
‘ concerted, and pursued with the utmost foresight  
‘ and prudence. To this we may add, that tho’  
‘ our trade has been sometimes a little interrupted  
‘ by the ambitious views of foreign courts, yet it is  
‘ certain, it has greatly improved in every branch  
‘ within these last 20 years, and is now, I believe,  
‘ in as flourishing a state as ever the trade of *Great*  
‘ *Britain* was in any age ; so that to return the com-  
‘ pliment to the gentlemen of the other side of the  
‘ question, if either of them will shew me where  
‘ the nation has lately suffered, either in its posses-  
‘ sions,

‘ fions, or in its trade, by any mismanagement of  
 ‘ those at the helm of our own affairs, I shall agree  
 ‘ to any amendment they please to propose ; but I  
 ‘ cannot think it reasonable to load our own mini-  
 ‘ sters with the little disturbances we have met with,  
 ‘ or the small losses we may have sustained by the  
 ‘ ambitious projects of foreign courts.

‘ With regard to the impropriety of expression  
 ‘ taken notice of, I cannot think there is any good  
 ‘ foundation for the criticism ; but if there were,  
 ‘ we must see that it proceeds intirely from the great  
 ‘ care the honourable gentleman, who made the  
 ‘ motion, took, to avoid every thing that might  
 ‘ look like an approbation of any late measure : For  
 ‘ this reason he would not propose that we should  
 ‘ thank his Majesty for not involving us in the  
 ‘ war ; because it might have been said, that, for  
 ‘ what we knew, it was necessary, it was incumbent  
 ‘ upon us, to have engaged at the very beginning of  
 ‘ the war ; therefore, to avoid this objection, he on-  
 ‘ ly proposes, that we should make our acknow-  
 ‘ ledgments to his Majesty, for not having engaged  
 ‘ too precipitately in the war ; and as this might  
 ‘ have been done, and would, as the honourable  
 ‘ gentlemen says, have been doing a very notable  
 ‘ injury to the nation, I cannot find that there  
 ‘ is any impropriety in our making our acknow-  
 ‘ ledgements to his Majesty for his not having  
 ‘ done so.

‘ I come now to that which I take to be the only  
 ‘ question now before us, I mean, Sir, the amend-  
 ‘ ment proposed, as it now stands amended. I shall  
 ‘ readily grant, that all the nations of *Europe* are  
 ‘ equally with us concerned in supporting the ba-  
 ‘ lance of power, and that therefore it is very reason-  
 ‘ able, that every one of them should bear a pro-  
 ‘ portionable share of the expence necessary, or that  
 ‘ may become necessary for that purpose ; and I  
 ‘ am persuaded his Majesty will use his utmost en-

' deavours to prevail with every one of them, to  
 ' do what is incumbent on them in that respect ; but  
 ' I must leave it to gentlemen to consider, whether  
 ' our putting such a caution into our address, would  
 ' not shew to the whole world a sort of diffidence in  
 ' his Majesty's conduct : I am convinced we have  
 ' no cause, from any part of his Majesty's past con-  
 ' duct, to shew any diffidence in his future ; and  
 ' I am very certain, we never could have chosen a  
 ' worse time than the present, to begin to shew any  
 ' such diffidence : The nation is in great danger of  
 ' being involved in a bloody and expensive war,  
 ' unless his Majesty succeeds in his endeavours for  
 ' restoring the peace and tranquillity of *Europe* ; and  
 ' it is certain, that nothing can contribute more to-  
 ' wards rendering his Majesty's endeavours success-  
 ' ful, than an established and general belief, that a  
 ' perfect harmony and intire confidence subsists be-  
 ' tween him and his Parliament : While they are  
 ' convinced of this, every one of the parties now  
 ' engaged in war, will be cautious of giving too  
 ' great a scope to their ambitious views, or of  
 ' pushing too far the success they may have,  
 ' for fear of drawing upon themselves the united  
 ' force of the Parliament of *Great Britain* ; but if  
 ' any reason should be given for them to believe,  
 ' that the Parliament puts no confidence in his Ma-  
 ' jesty's conduct, they may then conceive hopes of  
 ' disuniting the power of *Great Britain* ; and in that  
 ' case they will not much regard the most reasonable  
 ' terms of peace that can be offered to them, by  
 ' means of his Majesty's mediation : Nay, I have  
 ' good reason to believe, that some of the powers  
 ' engaged in war, particularly *Spain*, will give no  
 ' positive answer to the instances lately made to  
 ' them, till they hear of the opening of the *British*  
 ' Parliament, and the addresses made upon that oc-  
 ' sion ; and if any mistrust of his Majesty's con-  
 ' duct

' duët should appear in our address, we may believe  
 ' their answer will not be such as ought to be wished  
 ' for: Thus, by acting too cautiously, we may not  
 ' only prevent the success of his Majesty's endea-  
 ' vours for restoring the public tranquillity, but we  
 ' may give such encouragement to the ambitious  
 ' views of some of the powers of *Europe*, as must  
 ' necessarily at last involve this nation in a most ex-  
 ' pensive, and even a most dangerous war.

' But this, Sir, is not the only objection against  
 ' the amendment proposed; for tho' all the nations  
 ' of *Europe* are, equally with us, concerned in the  
 ' preserving the balance of power, yet some of them  
 ' may be blind to their own interest, nay, it is very  
 ' probable, some of them always will; and are we  
 ' to neglect what is necessary for our own security,  
 ' or to refuse contributing any thing towards preserv-  
 ' ing or restoring the balance of power, because  
 ' every one of the other parties concerned will not  
 ' contribute their proportionable share? This, in  
 ' my opinion, would be a very odd sort of maxim  
 ' for us to lay down; it is such a one as I hope will  
 ' never be insisted on in the councils of *Great Bri-  
 ' tain*. Suppose, for example, our neighbours, the  
 ' States General, should be so blind to the real in-  
 ' terest of their country, as to look quietly on, till  
 ' they saw any one of the powers of *Europe* extend  
 ' their conquests so far, as to be able to give the  
 ' law to all the rest; would that be a reason for our  
 ' behaving in the same manner? No, Sir, let our  
 ' neighbours do what they will, it is incumbent upon  
 ' us to look in time to our own security; and I  
 ' hope we shall be always ready to do what our ho-  
 ' nour and our safety may require, upon every such  
 ' occasion; for if ever we should resolve to put our-  
 ' selves to no charges for preserving the balance of  
 ' power, unless the States General, or any other  
 ' nation in *Europe*, would agree to join with us,  
 ' and to bear a proportionable share of the ex-  
 ' pence,

‘ pence, we would from that moment become dependent upon that other state, and consequently ‘ would be neglected and despised by all the other ‘ powers in *Europe*.

‘ Therefore, Sir, as the amendment proposed, ‘ tends, in my opinion, towards shewing a diffidence in his Majesty’s conduct ; as it tends towards placing this nation in a sort of dependency ‘ upon other powers ; I cannot but be against it.

The Reply made to this, was to the following effect, *viz.*

‘ Sir, altho’ I have had the honour to be long a Reply ‘ member of this house, yet I find I never knew the ‘ whole of my duty till this day. I always imagined ‘ that we met here to do business, and not to make ‘ compliments. I shall never be against expressing ‘ our loyalty and fidelity to our Sovereign, upon ‘ every proper occasion ; because I take it to be ‘ no compliment, I take it to be our duty, and immemorial custom has established it as such, at the ‘ beginning of every session of Parliament ; but to ‘ applaud his Majesty’s wisdom, his goodness, and ‘ his tender regard for his people in every part of ‘ his conduct, which he may be pleased to mention ‘ in his speech, is a method of expressing ourselves ‘ which ought indeed to be called complimenting ; ‘ it can be called nothing else, because it cannot ‘ be sincere, when we bestow those high epithets ‘ upon what we know nothing about. This, indeed, I never before understood to be any part ‘ of our duty, and I am sure the custom is not immemorial ; for if the gentleman will look but a ‘ very little back in our journals, he will see when ‘ it began ; and I must say, I am sorry it was ever ‘ begun, for in my opinion, it derogates highly ‘ from the honour and dignity of Parliament, and ‘ from that sincerity and simplicity for which this



‘ nation was, in ancient times, so deservedly famous.

‘ The honourable gentleman appears under a great concern for those who have the honour to serve the crown: Perhaps my concern for them is not so great; and for this reason, it may be, that I do not think their task so hard; I confess, that when I observe any modesty in them, I am apt enough to suspect that it proceeds from consciousness of guilt, rather than from consciousness of merit; and in their motions for addresses, they have of late so very seldom shewn any modesty, that I was surprised to find the least appearance of it upon the present occasion. However, Sir, it cannot be said that the modesty they have now shewn, is in any degree excessive; for, as the speeches from the throne are, by the custom of Parliament, supposed to be speeches from the ministers; and as his Majesty’s conduct, when it comes to be considered in this house; is always supposed to be the conduct of his ministers; I cannot allow that those, who propose that we should talk so much, in our address, of their wisdom and goodness, and of their tender regard for the public repose and tranquillity, have testified any excessive degree of modesty, tho’ it may perhaps appear to be a little more than what has lately been usual upon such occasions: If the gentlemen had been pleased to have left out the two paragraphs in which these compliments are contained, their modesty surely would have been greater, and their task would certainly have been easier, because the motion would have been shorter; and I am convinced it would have given more satisfaction to the majority of the nation, and I hope, to the majority of this house.

‘ I must say, Sir, I am not a little surprised to hear any gentleman undertake to shew, that neither of the two paragraphs found fault with, contain

‘ an

‘ an encomium upon any minister, or an approbation of any measure: I am persuaded, every man without doors that reads them, will think otherwise: Nay, I am convinced, that all those, who are not acquainted with our modern refinements in politics, will think that we could not, with any sincerity, express ourselves so, without having been made acquainted with all the late measures relating to war or peace, so as to be able to see that they deserved those fine epithets we are to give them: They will not consider that these fine expressions are designed only as compliments, and therefore do not require any sincerity.

‘ As to the first paragraph, the honourable gentleman has acknowledged, that if the words, *too precipitately*, had not been put in, it would have been a declaration, at least, that it was neither necessary nor incumbent upon us to engage in the war; which was a declaration this house could not decently make, without knowing something more of our late transactions than have been yet communicated to us; and an honourable gentleman, who spoke before him, has shewed, I think, to a demonstration, that the putting of those words into our address, will carry an insinuation, which I hope, no man will apply to his Majesty, whatever may be done with respect to the ministers: But the paragraph, even with these words, imports a declaration from us, that it would have been precipitate, it would have been rash, to have involved the nation in war before this time; which is a declaration we cannot, in my opinion, make, without more lights than we have at present before us: But suppose that we are convinced of the truth of this declaration, what are we then to do? We are to acknowledge his Majesty’s wisdom and goodness, or rather the wisdom and goodness of his ministers, in not having been guilty of a rash action; and whether such an acknowledgment be

‘ consistent with the dignity of this house, or even  
 ‘ with common sense, I must leave to gentlemen to  
 ‘ judge.

‘ With regard to the other paragraph, allow me  
 ‘ to suppose, Sir, that we were, by the treaty of *Vi-*  
 ‘ *enna*, or otherwise, obliged in honour to send im-  
 ‘ mediate succours to the Emperor; would it not  
 ‘ look very odd in us, to make our acknowledg-  
 ‘ ments to those who advised his Majesty to inter-  
 ‘ pose only as a mediator, when he was in honour  
 ‘ obliged to engage as a party in the dispute? Let  
 ‘ me suppose again, that there were several disputes  
 ‘ and differences, subsisting between this nation and  
 ‘ any one of the parties concerned in the present  
 ‘ war, which disputes and differences we had no  
 ‘ hopes of accommodating in a friendly manner;  
 ‘ and which were of such a nature as could not be  
 ‘ given up without injuring both the honour and the  
 ‘ interest of the nation: In such a case, could we  
 ‘ have had a more proper opportunity to vindicate  
 ‘ our honour and our just rights; and if so, can  
 ‘ we make any acknowledgements to those who  
 ‘ have advised his Majesty not to lay hold of such a  
 ‘ fair opportunity? Then as to our concert with  
 ‘ the *Dutch*, whether there has been any such or  
 ‘ not, does not, I am sure, appear from any public  
 ‘ step they have taken; and therefore I do not see  
 ‘ how we can make our acknowledgments on that  
 ‘ account: I hope, however, it is so; I hope they  
 ‘ have acted in every thing in concert with us, as  
 ‘ well as we have done with them. I believe it is  
 ‘ their interest as well as ours to act in that manner;  
 ‘ but a nation may mistake its own interest; and  
 ‘ therefore I may suppose that they have been, from  
 ‘ the very beginning of this war, and even before  
 ‘ it broke out, engaged in a separate interest: If  
 ‘ so, can we make any acknowledgements to those  
 ‘ who have advised his Majesty to concert any mea-  
 ‘ sures with them? All these suppositions may be  
 ‘ true,

‘ true, for what we know ; and yet by agreeing to  
‘ this paragraph we must presume every one of them  
‘ to be false, otherwise we must appear to be incon-  
‘ sistent with ourselves.

‘ Thus, Sir, even to take these two paragraphs  
‘ in the sense that the honourable gentleman has put  
‘ upon them, we must suppose we were no way en-  
‘ gaged, either in honour or interest, to take a share  
‘ in the present war ; that it would have been pre-  
‘ cipitate and rash in us to have engaged in it ; and  
‘ that the *Dutch* are engaged in the same interest,  
‘ and have acted in every thing in concert with us ;  
‘ which are suppositions we have not, I am afraid,  
‘ any great reason to make : But our constituents,  
‘ the people who sent us hither, and whose good  
‘ opinion we ought to preserve, will go farther :  
‘ They will, from these two paragraphs in our ad-  
‘ dress, suppose, that the measures pursued by the  
‘ ministers, for procuring peace and accommoda-  
‘ tion, have been wise and good ; that the plan of  
‘ peace is such a one as it ought to be ; and that the  
‘ most prudent measures have been taken to make it  
‘ effectual ; and if they should afterwards find them-  
‘ selves mistaken, what opinion can they have of our  
‘ wisdom and goodness ? I am afraid it will be but  
‘ a poor excuse, to an honest, sincere country gen-  
‘ tleman, that he is never to look for sincerity in the  
‘ addresses of this house, that we never mean any  
‘ thing but compliment by any general expressions  
‘ in them.

‘ From what I have said, Sir, I think it will ap-  
‘ pear, that both our ignorance and our suspicions  
‘ are good arguments against our making such high  
‘ compliments to the ministers ; for it is upon them  
‘ these compliments are, by the custom of Parlia-  
‘ ment, presumed to be bestowed : His Majesty has  
‘ no concern in the debate, and therefore we may  
‘ treat the subject with the more freedom. Our ig-  
‘ norance, as to all our late transactions, is very

' great ; and if future Parliaments should be always  
 ' of the same opinion the last was of, we are like to  
 ' remain for ever in the most profound ignorance ;  
 ' for I did not hear one argument made use of, in the  
 ' last Parliament, against the motions then made, for  
 ' some insight into our foreign affairs, but what will  
 ' for ever be as strong as it was at that time : The  
 ' motions then made, were not for a discovery of  
 ' any of the transactions then upon the anvil ; these  
 ' motions were only for some papers, relating to  
 ' transactions that had been quite finished several  
 ' years before ; and the only reason I heard given  
 ' for refusing us that favour, was, that the publishing  
 ' of such papers, the discovering of such transactions,  
 ' might open old sores, they might relate some way  
 ' or another to the present transactions, and there-  
 ' fore it was not proper they should be laid before  
 ' us ; nay, we were not so much as allowed to call  
 ' for them, in order to have had that answer from  
 ' his Majesty, from whom only it was proper for  
 ' this house to take any such answer. At this rate,  
 ' Sir, we shall never have any account of the trans-  
 ' actions of any minister, till some new favourite  
 ' starts up, and resolves to disgrace his predecessor,  
 ' by exposing the wickedness or the folly of his con-  
 ' duct.

' That our late conduct has not been quite so pru-  
 ' dent, is, I am sure, very much suspected by the  
 ' generality of the nation, whatever it may be by  
 ' the majority of this house. We have been long  
 ' amused, Sir ; we have had a great deal of pa-  
 ' tience ; but it is not, Sir, that sort of people meant  
 ' by the hon. gentleman, who have been so amused :  
 ' It is not the disaffected, the enemies to his Majesty's  
 ' family and the present happy establishment, who  
 ' have been obliged to have patience ; no, Sir, such  
 ' men are, I believe, glad to see such measures pur-  
 ' sued : It is those who are well affected towards his  
 ' Majesty, those who are real friends to the present  
 ' establish-



‘ establishment, who have been lately amused ; and  
‘ it must be acknowledged they have had a great  
‘ deal of patience. That the nation has been af-  
‘ fronted, that our trade has been interrupted, that  
‘ our merchants have been plundered, and our sea-  
‘ men most cruelly used, are facts not to be contro-  
‘ verted. Whether they have proceeded from the  
‘ ambitious projects of foreign courts, or from the  
‘ blunders of some of our own people at home, is a  
‘ question this house ought to look into ; and for  
‘ that purpose, we ought to insist upon having all  
‘ necessary lights laid before us. But for the pre-  
‘ sent I shall suppose, that they have all proceeded  
‘ from the ambitious projects of foreign courts :  
‘ What satisfaction then have we obtained, for the  
‘ insults and indignities we have suffered ? What  
‘ reparation have our merchants got, for the losses  
‘ they have sustained ? Is this nation brought so low,  
‘ that we must submit to suffer, to be disturbed by  
‘ the ambitious projects of foreign courts, without  
‘ daring once to insist upon an adequate satisfaction,  
‘ a full reparation ? I hope not, Sir ; and till an a-  
‘ dequate satisfaction and a full reparation be obtain-  
‘ ed, I shall not be ready to agree to pass compli-  
‘ ments upon our late conduct. If we have met  
‘ with so few or so small disturbances, if our trade  
‘ has so greatly increased, what advantage hath the  
‘ public reaped from the happy state we have been  
‘ in ? What part of the public debts have we dis-  
‘ charged ? What taxes have we relieved the people  
‘ from ? Surely, Sir, if we have been for so many  
‘ years in such a happy state, a great part of our  
‘ debts might have been discharged, and several of  
‘ our most grievous taxes taken off. But the fact is  
‘ otherwise, we have been every year keeping up  
‘ great armies, fitting out great fleets, and putting  
‘ the nation to a vast expence. In short, Sir, we have  
‘ been, for these several years, in a very odd sort of  
‘ state ; we have had war without hostilities, and  
‘ peace

‘ peace without quiet ; and while the nation continues  
 ‘ in the same mungrel sort of state, shall this house  
 ‘ pass high compliments on the conduct of our  
 ‘ ministers ?

‘ To pretend, Sir, that the amendment offered  
 ‘ will shew a diffidence in his Majesty’s conduct, is  
 ‘ to tell this house, that we must never recommend  
 ‘ any measure to our Sovereign ; or rather to the mi-  
 ‘ nisters of our Sovereign ; which is a maxim no  
 ‘ member of this house will, I hope, admit of.  
 ‘ Surely, Sir, we are not to neglect our duty to our  
 ‘ country, or to our King, for fear of giving foreign  
 ‘ courts cause to think, that we have a diffidence in  
 ‘ his Majesty’s conduct : Such surmises we are al-  
 ‘ ways to disregard, even though the nation were in  
 ‘ much greater danger than it is at present : For this  
 ‘ we have many precedents, but one I shall take  
 ‘ notice of, which I think directly in point. I be-  
 ‘ lieve it will be granted, that in the year 1702, this  
 ‘ nation was in greater danger than it can be sup-  
 ‘ posed at present ; we had then actually declared war  
 ‘ against *France* and *Spain*, who had at that time in  
 ‘ alliance with them the King of *Portugal*, the Duke  
 ‘ of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Bavaria* ; whereas we  
 ‘ had none but the Emperor and the *Dutch* ; yet in  
 ‘ that year, this house not only recommended to the  
 ‘ late Queen, to prevail with the *Dutch* to prohibit  
 ‘ trade with *France* and *Spain*, but actually made it  
 ‘ one of the conditions of the power they gave her  
 ‘ to augment her forces, and that no foreign troops  
 ‘ she should take into her service, should enter into  
 ‘ *English* pay, till that condition were complied  
 ‘ with. I do not doubt but the house was then told,  
 ‘ that such a recommendation, much more such a  
 ‘ condition annexed to their grant, would shew a  
 ‘ mistrust in her Majesty’s conduct ; but they thought  
 ‘ it their duty to do so ; therefore they had no re-  
 ‘ gard to such insinuations, and we all know, that  
 ‘ their

their behaviour was attended with no bad consequence.

The balance of power in *Europe*, is certainly of as much consequence to other nations as it is to this; and when it comes to be really in danger, it is not to be questioned, but we will find other powers as ready to join with us as we are to join with them, for its preservation; and unless we shew too much readiness to bear all the expence, it is also certain, that those who are in equal danger, will never refuse to bear their proportionable share of the expence: But if ever this nation should set itself up as the *Don Quixote* of *Europe*, we may then expect that most of the powers of *Europe*, who are not immediately attacked, will leave the whole burden upon us; and this, I am afraid, is too much the case at present; for as our neighbours, the *Dutch*, are more exposed to the danger than we are, I must conclude, from their inactivity, that either they do not think the balance of power in danger, or otherwise we have given them room to believe, that we will take upon us the defence of this balance, without putting them to any trouble or expence; and, for this reason, I think it is become absolutely necessary for us to give some such recommendation to his Majesty, as is proposed by this amendment, in order to convince the world, that we are not to set ourselves up as the *Don Quixotes* of *Europe*. Such a resolution can subject us to no dependency, because it is a resolution we can alter whenever we have a mind; for if such a case should happen, as it is hardly possible it ever will, that most of the nations in *Europe* should resolve to look tamely on, and see the balance of power quite overturned, I would then think it the duty and the honour of this nation, rather to play the *Don Quixote* of *Europe*, than to see our own liberties swallowed up in the ruins of those of our neighbours.

The

Division.

The question being at last put, for agreeing to the amendment, upon a division, it was carried in the negative, 265 to 185.

Then the question was put upon the motion, which was agreed to without a division; and a committee being named to draw up the address, they made their report next day, when the address was agreed to, which is as follows, *viz.*

The Commons address.

*Most gracious Sovereign,*

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return our humblest thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne; and to acknowledge, in the most grateful manner, your Majesty's tender and affectionate concern for the welfare of your people, in steadily pursuing such measures as have tended towards peace and accommodation, rather than to involve, too precipitately, this kingdom and all *Europe*, in a general and bloody war.

Among so many differing interests and contending powers, engaged in the present war, it is your Majesty's wisdom and goodness alone, which could have secured to us our present happy situation; and the crown of *Great Britain* could never appear with greater honour and lustre, than by your Majesty's interposing your good offices between the contending parties: And as they have received them with due respect, we cannot but hope, their own prudence will help to complete so desirable a work.

It is our duty, and we beg leave to express the greatest gratitude to your Majesty, for the care and concern which must have attended your unwearied endeavours, both in beginning and carrying on those good offices; which, being accepted, have brought things to so great a forwardness, that a plan, in concert with the States General, may, in

a short

' a short time, be offered to the consideration of all  
' the powers engaged in the war; which, notwith-  
' standing the great difficulties that must attend so  
' great a work, may serve for the basis of a general  
' negotiation of peace, consistent with the honour  
' and interest of all parties, as far as the circum-  
' stances of time and the present situation of affairs  
' will permit.

' If these measures, concerted for the common re-  
' pose and tranquility of all *Europe*, should unhap-  
' pily meet with any disappointment, your Majesty's  
' wisdom and care must be acknowledged to have  
' deserved that success, which the wisest counsels  
' cannot always command. But, whatever the  
' event may be, we beg leave to assure your Ma-  
' jesty, that this house will chearfully and effectual-  
' ly raise such supplies, as shall be necessary for  
' the honour and security of your Majesty and these  
' kingdoms; and enable your Majesty to act that  
' part, which honour and justice, and the true inte-  
' rest of your people shall call upon your Majesty to  
' undertake.'

This address was presented to his Majesty on  
*Wednesday* the 29th of *January*; to which his Ma-  
jesty was pleased to give the following answer,  
*viz.*

Gentlemen,

*I Return you my thanks for this dutiful and loyal ad- The*  
*dress. I depend intirely upon your fidelity and affec- King's an-*  
*tion, and your due regard to the public welfare, that I swer.*  
*shall be supported in such measures, as I may be obliged*  
*to pursue. And you may be assured, that the honour*  
*and interest of my crown and people, shall be the rule and*  
*guide of all my actions and resolutions.*

The motion for this address was made by *John Speakers.*  
*Hedges, Esq;* member for *Fowey* in *Cornwall*, and  
seconded



seconded by *John Campbell*, Esq; member for *Pembroke-shire*. The amendment was proposed by Sir *William Wyndham*, bart. member for *Somersetshire*, and amended by the Master of the Rolls. The speakers for the motion, and against the amendment, besides the two first mentioned, were *Thomas Winnington*, Esq; *Henry Pelham*, Esq; Sir *William Yonge*, *Joseph Danvers*, Esq; and *James Oglethorpe*, Esq; The speakers against the motion, and for the amendment, besides the two abovementioned, were the Lord *Morpeth*, the Lord *Noel Somerset*, *William Shippen*, Esq; Sir *Thomas Aston*, *Robert Dundas*, Esq; *Philip Gybbon*, Esq; *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; *Walter Plummer*, Esq; and *William Pulteney*, Esq;

Order relating to elections.

ON *Thursday* the 6th day of *February*, it was resolved in the house of Commons, 'That in the petition of any elector or electors, for any county, city or place, sending members to Parliament, complaining of an undue election and return, and alledging that some other person was duly elected, and ought to have been returned, the sitting member so complained of, might demand and examine into the qualifications of such person, so alledged to be duly elected, in the same manner as if such person had himself petitioned: Which resolution was declared to be a standing order of the house.'

Motion for 30,000 seamen.

Next day the house (according to order) resolved itself into a Committee of the whole house, to consider of the supply granted to his Majesty; and a motion being made for the house's coming to a resolution, 'That 30,000 men should be employed for sea-service, for the year 1735, beginning from the 1st day of *January*, 1734.' This number was objected to, as being too large, and much larger than what was voted for last year; and therefore it was moved, that their resolution should be, 'That

‘ That 20,000 men should be employed for sea-  
 ‘ service for the year 1735, beginning from the 1st  
 ‘ day of *January* 1734,’ which was the number vo-  
 ‘ ted for last year, and was, as they thought, sufficient  
 ‘ for the ensuing year. Upon this, there ensued a de-  
 ‘ bate, in which the arguments made use of, for the  
 ‘ 30,000 men, were as follows, *viz.*

‘ Sir, with respect to the question now before us, Argument

‘ I hope no gentleman expects, that for his satisf- for that  
 ‘ faction, his Majesty should be obliged, to disclose number.

‘ to this house, all the secrets of his government, all  
 ‘ the negotiations he is now carrying on with foreign  
 ‘ powers, and all the private informations he may  
 ‘ have received, in relation to the views and designs  
 ‘ of the several powers now engaged in war; nor  
 ‘ can it be expected, that his Majesty should now  
 ‘ declare positively to us, what he is resolved to do,  
 ‘ in relation to his engaging or not engaging in the  
 ‘ present war: If any such thing could be done, I  
 ‘ believe it would very soon put an end to the questi-  
 ‘ on; but no such thing has ever yet been practised,  
 ‘ nor has this house ever thought such a practise ne-  
 ‘ cessary, for inducing them to agree to any demand  
 ‘ made by the crown, and I hope it never will;  
 ‘ for if ever this should come to be thought necessary,  
 ‘ it would lay this nation under a very great dis-  
 ‘ advantage; because it cannot be expected that what  
 ‘ is once disclosed, in such a numerous assembly,  
 ‘ should continue long a secret; from whence this  
 ‘ inconvenience would necessarily ensue, that foreign  
 ‘ powers might, at all times, proceed with great se-  
 ‘ crecy in their measures, for the destruction or di-  
 ‘ sturbance of this nation, while we could do nothing  
 ‘ to annoy our enemies, nor even provide for our  
 ‘ own defence, but in the most open and public  
 ‘ manner: Nay, if our King should, at any time,  
 ‘ get information of the designs of our enemies, he  
 ‘ would be obliged to discover to this house, that is

‘ to

' to say, he would be obliged to tell our enemies from  
 ' whom he had that information ; and, upon such a  
 ' supposition, it is certain no information would ever  
 ' be given to us ; we could never know any thing  
 ' of the secret designs of our enemies, till the very  
 ' moment of their execution ; and therefore, we must  
 ' conclude, that such a maxim in this house, would  
 ' be absolutely inconsistent with the safety of our  
 ' country ; for which reason we must, in the pre-  
 ' sent case, and in all such cases, take the argument  
 ' intirely, from what appears in his Majesty's speech,  
 ' and from those public accounts, which are known  
 ' to every gentleman in the house.

' Upon this footing, Sir, and upon none other,  
 ' shall I presume to give my reasons, for agreeing to  
 ' the augmentation proposed ; and, indeed, upon  
 ' this footing, the reasons are, in my opinion, so  
 ' evident and so strong, that there is no occasion for  
 ' inquiring into any secrets, in order to find other  
 ' reasons for our agreeing to this augmentation.  
 ' From what has as yet appeared, we are not, it is  
 ' true, obliged to engage in the present war ; for as  
 ' the motives, or at least, the pretended motives for  
 ' the war, relate intirely to the affair of *Poland* ; and  
 ' as that is an affair, in which the interest of this  
 ' nation is no way concerned, we are not obliged to  
 ' engage in the war upon that account : The Em-  
 ' peror has, indeed, called upon us for the succours,  
 ' which he pretends are stipulated, by the treaties  
 ' subsisting between us ; but as we are not, by any  
 ' treaty, engaged to support either one party or the  
 ' other in *Poland*, or to support his Imperial Majesty  
 ' in his views relating to that kingdom ; therefore  
 ' we do not think ourselves obliged, by any treaty  
 ' subsisting between us, to furnish him with succours  
 ' in a war, which has been occasioned, as is pre-  
 ' tended at least, merely by the present dispute about  
 ' the election of a King of *Poland*. If we were ab-  
 ' solutely certain, that the motives assigned, were the  
 ' real

' real and the only motives for the present war ; if  
 ' we had a full assurance, that the parties engaged,  
 ' would carry their views no farther, I should readily  
 ' grant, that there would have been no occasion for  
 ' our putting ourselves to any expence, nor would  
 ' there be now any necessity for the augmentation  
 ' proposed ; but this is what we neither could at the  
 ' beginning, nor can yet depend on : Foreign courts  
 ' may have secret views, which cannot be immedi-  
 ' ately discovered ; but his Majesty, by offering to  
 ' interpose his good offices, has taken the most  
 ' effectual method, for discovering the secret views  
 ' of all the parties concerned ; and if, by the inter-  
 ' position of his good offices, he should discover,  
 ' that either of the parties engaged in war will ac-  
 ' cept of no reasonable terms, we may from thence  
 ' conclude, that the affair of *Poland*, was not the  
 ' only and real motive for the war ; but that, under  
 ' that pretence, there was a design formed, to over-  
 ' turn the balance of power in *Europe* ; in which  
 ' case, we would be obliged, both in honour and  
 ' interest, as well as by treaty, not only to take a  
 ' share in the war, but to join with all our force  
 ' against that party, who we found had formed such  
 ' a design.

' In the formation of every design for overturn-  
 ' ing the balance of power in *Europe*, the party that  
 ' forms it, must not only have great ambition, but,  
 ' before he dares attempt to put it in execution, he  
 ' must have some hopes of success : The ambition  
 ' of our neighbours, Sir, is what we cannot prevent,  
 ' but we may by proper precautions seasonably taken,  
 ' deprive them of all hopes of success ; and by so  
 ' doing, we shall always prevent their attempting to  
 ' put their designs in execution. From this maxim  
 ' we may see the wisdom of the measures taken last  
 ' year : His Majesty did not find himself obliged,  
 ' to take any share in the war, but as the ambition  
 ' of either of the parties engaged, might at last in-



' involve this nation in the war ; therefore he offered  
 ' to interpose his good offices, for bringing about an  
 ' accommodation : Whatever might have been the  
 ' views of the parties engaged, at the beginning of  
 ' the war, yet upon seeing this nation put itself in  
 ' such a posture of defence, they all thought proper  
 ' to drop any ambitious views they might then en-  
 ' tertain, by accepting of the good offices his Ma-  
 ' jesty had offered : Their ready compliance in this  
 ' respect, can be attributed to nothing, but the pre-  
 ' parations we made last year, and the powers that  
 ' were granted by last session of Parliament to his  
 ' Majesty ; for by these, we deprived them of all  
 ' hopes of succeeding in any of their ambitious  
 ' views. It was this, Sir, that produced an accepta-  
 ' tion of the good offices, his Majesty had offered ;  
 ' and if we should slacken in our measures, if we  
 ' should discontinue our preparations, it would ren-  
 ' der us despicable, in the eyes of all the parties  
 ' engaged in war, and would consequently disap-  
 ' point the good effects we have reason to expect  
 ' from that acceptance.

' At the beginning of last session, it was very  
 ' well known, that the *French* were fitting out a  
 ' large squadron at *Brest*, and were providing tran-  
 ' sports and a land army, to be sent along with that  
 ' squadron, under pretence of relieving *Dantzick*.  
 ' In such a situation, Sir, I should have thought  
 ' those who had the honour to advise the King, very  
 ' imprudent, or very unfaithful counsellors, if they  
 ' had not advised him, to put the nation immediately  
 ' into a state of defence ; for tho' it was probable,  
 ' neither the *French*, nor any other power, would  
 ' attack us, while we continued neutral, yet it is  
 ' certain, it was then, and always will be, very  
 ' much the *French* interest to have this nation of its  
 ' side ; and if they had then seen, or should upon  
 ' any such occasion see, that it would be easy to  
 ' overturn our government, by our not being suffi-  
 ' ciently



'ciently provided for defence, and could, by over-  
'turning our government, get this nation to join  
'with them, it would then have been, and always  
'will be, very well worth their while, to make the  
'attempt; therefore, in order to preserve the peace  
'and quiet of the nation, we ought always to be  
'upon our guard, and ought to make some addi-  
'tional provision for our defence, when any of our  
'neighbours are fitting out large squadrons, which  
'may possibly be made use of, to attack or invade  
'this nation. This, Sir, was the reason, and this  
'was then, I think, a sufficient reason for his Ma-  
'jesty's desiring 20,000 men from last session of Par-  
'liament, for sea-service; but from what has since  
'happened, this reason seems to have gathered a  
'little more weight; for tho' there was no particular  
'reason to suspect, that the *French* squadron was de-  
'signed against us, yet there was no other place in  
'the world, for which it could be designed, except  
'*Dantzick*; and whether it was designed for *Dant-*  
'*zick* or not, it is certain, it did not go to *Dantzick*;  
'for we all know, it continued at *Brest* the whole  
'summer.

'After the last session of Parliament had agreed  
'to the 20,000 seamen desired by his Majesty, he  
'had an account, that besides the squadron fitting  
'out at *Brest*, both the *French* and the *Spaniards* had  
'given orders for fitting out all their ships of war,  
'lying in any of their ports, from *Toulon* round to  
'*Brest*; from whence his Majesty, with great rea-  
'son, thought it absolutely necessary, to make a  
'farther addition to his naval force; for which pur-  
'pose he applied to his Parliament for a power to  
'do so; and in pursuance of the powers granted  
'him upon that application, he has since made an  
'addition of 7000 men to the sea-service, so that  
'our present naval establishment consists of 27000  
'men; seven thousand of which must be reduced,

‘ if we should agree to grant but 20,000 seamen for  
 ‘ the ensuing year.

‘ Having thus, Sir, laid the present state of our  
 ‘ naval force before you, let us consider the present  
 ‘ state of the affairs of *Europe*, the circumstances  
 ‘ our neighbours are in, and the circumstances we  
 ‘ are in ourselves. As to the affairs of *Europe*, it is  
 ‘ certain, they seem to be in no less dangerous state  
 ‘ than they were last year; his Majesty’s good of-  
 ‘ fices are, indeed, accepted of, but that acceptance  
 ‘ has not as yet produced the wished for effect, nor  
 ‘ can it be expected it should, if his Majesty should  
 ‘ appear to be less powerful, when he comes to offer  
 ‘ terms of peace, than he was when he made the  
 ‘ offer of his good offices; we cannot therefore,  
 ‘ from the present state of the affairs of *Europe*, draw  
 ‘ any argument for diminishing our naval force.  
 ‘ Then as to the circumstances of our neighbours,  
 ‘ it is very certain, that not only all the ships of war,  
 ‘ fitted out either by the *French* or *Spaniards*, are  
 ‘ continued in commission; but both these nations  
 ‘ are, with the utmost application, re-building and  
 ‘ repairing every ship of force they have in their  
 ‘ dominions, and are, besides, building new ships  
 ‘ of war as fast as they can; from whence I think it  
 ‘ is evident, that instead of making any reduction of  
 ‘ the naval force we had last year, we ought to make  
 ‘ some addition, and the addition proposed, which  
 ‘ is properly but 3000 men, is in my opinion, the  
 ‘ least that can be thought of.

‘ This, Sir, must be thought still more reasonable,  
 ‘ if we consider our own particular circumstances,  
 ‘ and the difficulty there is of getting our seamen  
 ‘ together after they are once dispersed. In coun-  
 ‘ tries where absolute and arbitrary government pre-  
 ‘ vails, they have all their seamen registered, and  
 ‘ they always know, where they may find them,  
 ‘ when they have occasion for them, Their seamen,  
 ‘ as well as all their other subjects, are under a sort

‘ of

' of martial discipline, they cannot absent them-  
 ' selves without a furlough, and they must remain  
 ' absent no longer than their furlough gives them  
 ' leave; by which means, the government always  
 ' knows what number they may depend on, upon  
 ' any emergency; but in this happy country, where  
 ' every private man enjoys his full liberty, we can-  
 ' not command our seamen to stay at home, nor  
 ' can we call them home when we have a mind;  
 ' for, notwithstanding the difficulties which every  
 ' one knows we found last summer, to man the fleet  
 ' then fitted out, yet it was computed, there were  
 ' at least 11,000 *British* sailors employed all last  
 ' summer, on board of *British* ships in the service of  
 ' foreigners, either as transports or as trading ships:  
 ' In this country, we never have any way of provid-  
 ' ing sailors for our fleet, upon any sudden emergen-  
 ' cy, but by pressing those seamen we find by chance  
 ' at home, or upon our own coasts; and this method  
 ' is always attended with so many inconveniencies,  
 ' that, in order to prevent our being at any time re-  
 ' duced to that necessity, every man who has a due  
 ' regard to the liberty and the happiness of the sub-  
 ' ject, must agree, that we ought, upon every oc-  
 ' casion, to begin early to provide against any dan-  
 ' ger we think we have reason to apprehend.

' In all the measures we have hitherto taken, re-  
 ' lating to the present war, our ancient and natural  
 ' allies the *Dutch*, have cordially joined with us in  
 ' every thing: They joined heartily with his Ma-  
 ' jesty, in offering their good offices for composing  
 ' the present unhappy differences in *Europe*, and they  
 ' have likewise joined with his Majesty in concert-  
 ' ing a proper plan for a pacification. It may per-  
 ' haps be insinuated, that they have put themselves  
 ' to no expence on account of the present war; but  
 ' this is neither a just nor a true insinuation; for it is  
 ' very well known that before this war broke out,  
 ' they had resolved to have made a very considerable

' reduction of their land forces. Every one knows,  
 ' that soon after the peace of *Utrecht*, they reduced  
 ' their army to 32,000 men, and for several years  
 ' after, they kept it at that number; but upon a  
 ' change which happened in the affairs of *Europe*,  
 ' they augmented it again to 52,000 men, and at  
 ' that time, we likewise found it necessary to in-  
 ' crease our army to 26,000 men: The war with  
 ' which *Europe* was then threatened was happily  
 ' prevented; and as soon as it was, we immediately  
 ' began to reduce our army; we reduced at first  
 ' 5000, and soon after 3000, of the number we had  
 ' increased it to; but the *Dutch* made at that time  
 ' no reduction: They never thought of making any  
 ' reduction, till the very year before the present  
 ' war broke out; then, indeed, a resolution was  
 ' actually taken in some of the provinces, to reduce  
 ' 10,000, and that was soon to have been followed,  
 ' by the reduction of another 10,000, in order to  
 ' have brought their army to its former standard of  
 ' 32,000 men: Both these reductions have been  
 ' put off, merely on account of the present war; so  
 ' that, to speak properly, they have put themselves  
 ' to the expence of maintaining 20,000 men ever  
 ' since the war began; and therefore, it is not to be  
 ' wondered, if they have made no addition to their  
 ' fleet, especially if we consider, that they are in no  
 ' danger of being attacked by sea, and the bad con-  
 ' dition their navy happens to be in at present,  
 ' which is occasioned by the vast expence they were  
 ' put to during the last war, in which they were  
 ' obliged to maintain a much greater number of  
 ' land-forces than we maintained, and were farther  
 ' obliged to be at the expence of all the sieges that  
 ' were undertaken during the war.

' The *Dutch*, it is true, Sir, concluded a treaty of  
 ' neutrality with *France*, with regard to the *Austrian*  
 ' *Netherlands*; but it is not from thence to be con-  
 ' cluded, that they are engaged in any interest sepa-

rate



' rate from us. They were no way concerned in  
 ' the affair of *Poland*, no more than we; if their  
 ' barrier was secured, and the balance of power not  
 ' brought in any danger, they had good reason to  
 ' think themselves no way concerned in the war;  
 ' the first they provided for by their treaty of neu-  
 ' trality, and the last could be in no danger, as long  
 ' as the parties engaged in war, confined their views  
 ' to what they then publickly declared; but if either  
 ' of them should begin to extend their views, and  
 ' thereby bring the balance of power into danger,  
 ' the *Dutch* would be then at liberty, and would  
 ' certainly do what was incumbent upon them in such  
 ' a conjuncture; and till that conjuncture happens,  
 ' we can have no more concern in the war than they:  
 ' Nay farther, in the concluding of that treaty of  
 ' neutrality, so careful were the *Dutch* to preserve  
 ' to themselves, a liberty of doing afterwards what  
 ' they should find proper; that by an express pro-  
 ' vision in the treaty, they have reserved to them-  
 ' selves, a power of sending the stipulated succours  
 ' to the Emperor, in case they should find it necessa-  
 ' ry so to do.

' Thus, Sir, it appears, that the *Dutch* are so far  
 ' from having fallen into any measures separate from  
 ' us, that they have continued a heavy charge upon  
 ' themselves, in order to be ready to join with us, in  
 ' any measure, that may hereafter appear necessary,  
 ' for preserving the balance of power in *Europe*; and  
 ' for that reason, as well as a great many others, I  
 ' think it is incumbent upon us, to put ourselves in  
 ' such a condition, as may enable us to act that part  
 ' which *Great Britain* ought to undertake, in the glo-  
 ' rious cause of preserving and securing the liberties  
 ' of *Europe*.'

To this it was answered as follows, viz.

Reply.

' I believe, Sir, it was never pretended to be laid  
 ' down as a maxim in this house, that, in order to in-  
 ' duce us to agree to the demands made by the crown,



the King was obliged to disclose to us, all the secrets of his government; but when we are to lay heavy taxes upon the people we represent, I must think some other reasons ought to be given us, than those we meet with in public gazettes, and common news-papers: Such accounts, I shall always think below the notice of a *British* house of Commons; but since we have at present none other before us, I shall condescend, or rather beg leave, to argue from such informations, as well as the gentlemen who seem to differ from me in opinion: However, I hope this practice will not be drawn into precedent, for I shall always think it inconsistent with the honour of this house, and with the duty we owe to our constituents: We ought never to ground our opinions upon any informations, but such as we receive directly from the throne, or such as are laid before us in the most solemn manner; and if in any case, we ought to be cautious in this respect, it ought surely to be in matters, which may any way relate to the loading of the subject with taxes.

As no account had been laid before us, of any of our late treaties or negotiations; as we have had no account, how this nation stands engaged, with respect to either of the parties now at war, it is certain, that the argument now before us must be taken up intirely upon the footing of his Majesty's speech, and of those public accounts, which every man knows, who is a member of any coffee house club, as well as every gentleman, who has the honour to be a member of this house. If we look into his Majesty's speech, we there find, that he has not yet engaged himself any way, but by his good offices, for reconciling the differences at present subsisting in *Europe*: From his Majesty's speech, it cannot therefore be pretended, that we are now in any greater danger than we were last year, unless these good offices have been employed

in

‘ in such a blundering way, by those his Majesty  
‘ has entrusted, as to make us parties in the dispute,  
‘ which I hope no man in the least suspects; and  
‘ therefore, from his Majesty’s speech, there cannot  
‘ be drawn any show of an argument of the aug-  
‘ mentation proposed.

‘ The argument then, Sir, must rest wholly upon  
‘ the accounts we have from public gazettes and  
‘ news-mongers; and if any credit can be given to  
‘ such informations, I must now think, as indeed  
‘ I have always thought, that 20,000 seamen were  
‘ more than sufficient for the service of this nation  
‘ last year; for, considering that those, from whom  
‘ we have any thing to fear by sea, were then deep-  
‘ ly engaged in war, it could not be supposed, that  
‘ they would insult or invade us, unless they had  
‘ found, that we were to have engaged against them.  
‘ I shall grant, that it would have been very much for  
‘ the interest of *France*, to have had this nation join-  
‘ ed with them; but considering the great standing  
‘ army we then had in *Britain* and *Ireland*, consi-  
‘ dering the number of ships we then had in com-  
‘ mission, and considering how generally well affect-  
‘ ed this nation is to the present happy establish-  
‘ ment, can we suppose, that *France* would have at-  
‘ tempted to overturn our government, with a squa-  
‘ dron of 18 or 20 men of war, and an army of  
‘ four or five regiments; when by making such an  
‘ attempt, and failing in it, they would have drawn  
‘ the highest resentment of this nation upon them-  
‘ selves, and that at a time, when they were deeply  
‘ engaged in war with another power; and when,  
‘ without such a provocation, they had, in all appear-  
‘ ance, nothing to fear from this nation? Appre-  
‘ hensions founded upon such odd suppositions, can  
‘ never be wanting; and if this house should give  
‘ way to such apprehensions, we must never expect  
‘ to be relieved from the load of debts and taxes we  
‘ now groan under.

‘ But

But, Sir, we had last year so little reason to fear  
 that *France* had any design against us, that it was  
 certain, their fleet which was fitted out at *Brest*,  
 was at first designed for the relief of *Dantzick*, and  
 would probably have sailed thither time enough  
 to have prevented the ruin of that trading Pro-  
 testant city, if it had not been for our extraordi-  
 nary, and, I think, unnecessary armaments in *Brit-  
 tain*. The honourable gentleman took notice, that  
 the *Brest* fleet did not go to *Dantzick*, and seemed  
 from thence to insinuate, that it was designed  
 against this country, if the design had not been pre-  
 vented by our preparations; but it is very well  
 known, that it was our preparations that prevent-  
 ed that fleet's sailing to *Dantzick*, as it was really  
 designed; it is very well known, that *Spain* ima-  
 gined our fleet was designed for the *Mediterranean*,  
 in order to prevent their expedition against *Na-  
 ples* and *Sicily*; and therefore they insisted upon it,  
 that the *French* fleet should remain at *Brest*, in or-  
 der to watch the motions of the fleet we were fitting  
 out. This, Sir, was, I believe, the true, and the  
 only reason why that fleet did not sail to the relief  
 of *Dantzick*; but this was not the only effect of  
 our voting 20,000 men for sea-service: Neither  
*France* nor *Spain* could imagine, nor could they, I  
 think, have any reason to imagine, that we were  
 putting ourselves to such a vast expence, for no  
 other end but to make a show at *Spithead* or in the  
*Downs*; they both began very reasonably to suspect,  
 that we had some design against them; and, up-  
 on this account, they both began to add to their  
 naval preparations; this again, we find, increased  
 our jealousies and fears, and produced that memor-  
 able vote of credit, with which the last Parlia-  
 ment, I may say, expired; and, in pursuance of  
 that vote of credit, we are now told, this na-  
 tion has been charged with maintaining 7000  
 idle

' idle seamen, besides the 20,000 voted by last session of last Parliament : Thus one unnecessary expence produced another, and both are now joined together, not only to be continued, but also to produce a third.

' However, Sir, though I am still of opinion, that 20,000 men was a number much greater than was necessary for the service of last year, yet I shall not propose to lessen that number for the year ensuing ; but I am really surpris'd to hear an augmentation of one half of that number called for, and that without his Majesty's having signified to us, either in his speech or by a particular message, that some designs were hatching against this nation in particular, or against the liberties of *Europe* in general. His Majesty's having made an addition last year of 7000 men, by virtue of the powers granted him by last session of Parliament, cannot be any argument with me, as a member of this house, for continuing that number, unless his Majesty had been pleas'd to communicate his reason for making that addition : As his Majesty has not been pleas'd to do so, and as I am of opinion that 20,000, was too great a number, I must consequently be more strongly convinced that 27,000 was too great a number ; and as I cannot see that we are in any greater danger this year than we were the last, I must therefore be against loading my constituents with maintaining that additional number for the year ensuing.

' It may be true, that the *French* and *Spaniards* have continued their ships of war in commission ; but if we can rely upon public news-papers, and these, it seems, are the only accounts we are to have ; the *French* have dismissed all, or most of the seamen belonging to their *Brest* squadron ; and neither they nor the *Spaniards* are making any extraordinary naval preparations, nor are they fitting out any considerable squadron at any port  
' in



' in either of the kindoms ; so that we have this  
 ' year really less reason to apprehend any danger  
 ' by sea, than we had the last ; because it cannot  
 ' now be said, that a foreign squadron, with a land-  
 ' army on board, is to pass by our very doors :  
 ' They may perhaps have a little more command  
 ' over their seamen than we have, tho' I cannot al-  
 ' low they have a great deal, considering our me-  
 ' thod of pressing ; but it is not possible for both  
 ' these nations joined together, to fit out a fleet sud-  
 ' denly and privately, stronger than any we can  
 ' send against it, as long as we have 20,000 seamen  
 ' in actual service ; for it is very well known, that  
 ' if a man of war has two thirds sailors on board,  
 ' and another third land men, she is always suffi-  
 ' ciently manned, either for sailing or fighting ; so  
 ' that from a hot press among our coasters, colliers,  
 ' and inland trade, we could in a very few days, in-  
 ' crease the number of men on board our ships of  
 ' war, to 40,000 at least, which is a greater num-  
 ' ber than we ever had occasion for, during the last  
 ' heavy war ; 32,000 seamen and 8000 marines,  
 ' being the greatest number that was ever provided  
 ' any one year during that war.

' Whether the motives for the present war relate  
 ' intirely to the affair of *Poland*, or whether we had  
 ' any concern in that affair, is what I shall not, Sir,  
 ' take upon me to determine ; but I think it is  
 ' pretty plain, that the motives of the Kings of *Spain*  
 ' and *Sardinia* could not any way relate to the affair  
 ' of *Poland* ; their motives certainly proceeded chiefly  
 ' from some late transactions between the Em-  
 ' peror and them, in which, I believe, we had  
 ' some concern : And even with respect to the af-  
 ' fair of *Poland*, if we give credit to common re-  
 ' ports, which are the only grounds of our present  
 ' debate, we had some concern in that too ; for it  
 ' has been confidently reported, that when *Augustus*,  
 ' late King of *Poland*, was first taken ill, which  
 ' was



' was a year or two before his death, the *French*  
' court, with which we were then in very good terms,  
' desired to know of us, whom we inclined to have  
' for successor to *Augustus*, as King of *Poland*; that  
' we did not then give them any positive an-  
' swer, but told them negatively, we did not in-  
' cline that any *German* Prince should be raised to  
' that dignity; and that some time after there were  
' positive instructions sent to our minister in *Poland*,  
' to co-operate with the *French* minister, in bring-  
' ing about the election of King *Stanislaus*:  
' This, Sir, is only a common report, and there-  
' fore I shall not take upon me to aver the truth of  
' it; but as the letters and instructions sent upon  
' that occasion to our minister in *Poland*, were  
' moved for in last Parliament, tho' a negative was  
' then put upon it, I hope it will hereafter be com-  
' plied with, in order to clear our conduct from that  
' imputation.

' To deprive our neighbours of all hopes of suc-  
' cess in any of their ambitious views, is, without  
' doubt, the most effectual way to prevent their  
' forming any such, or at least, their attempting to  
' put them in execution; but how is this to be done,  
' Sir? It is to be done by a wise and frugal ma-  
' nagement of our affairs in times of no danger, by  
' avoiding all occasions of needless expence, and by  
' reserving our whole strength for the day of real  
' danger: Our ships of war may soon be fitted out,  
' our armies may soon be raised and brought into  
' the field, if we have but money enough for these  
' purposes; but if we have thrown away our money  
' upon idle and unnecessary armaments; if, by vain  
' fears and ridiculous apprehensions, we have run  
' ourselves in debt, or neglected to clear those  
' mortgages our former misfortunes had subjected us  
' to, our ambitious neighbours will look upon us  
' with contempt, and will certainly conclude, that it  
' is not in our power to put a stop to their ambitious  
' designs.

designs. In this view, Sir, is it not evident, that the more money we spend in unnecessary armaments, and before the danger calls upon us, the less able we will be to deprive our neighbours of the hopes of success in any of their ambitious projects. Neither this nation nor the liberties of *Europe* are, at present, in any apparent and immediate danger; but a time may come, a conjuncture may happen when we, and perhaps the greatest part of the world, will be necessarily involved in a most dangerous and a most bloody war: If the present Emperor should die before the affairs of *Germany* are fully settled, may not every gentleman foresee what must be the consequences: The Princes of the Empire all tearing one another to pieces, and every one of its neighbours endeavouring to take hold of some part of the *Austrian* dominions: The *Turks* attacking it on one side, the *French* attacking it on the other, and the balance of power in danger of being lost, let whatever side be the conqueror. This, Sir, is an event that may happen, I hope it never will, but as it is possible, we ought to provide against it; and for that reason, we ought not to exhaust the money and the strength of the nation in needless expences or unnecessary equipments: Whereas, we seem to be pursuing a quite contrary measure; tho' it be now, with respect to this nation, a time of profound peace and tranquillity, yet I reckon our expences for next year will amount to three or four millions, which is a most prodigious expence, a greater expence than the nation was put to in any one year of that heavy war in King *William's* reign; for the expences of that war never exceeded three millions a year: And even during the war in Queen *Anne's* reign, that war which proved so glorious to this nation, and so beneficial to every one of our allies, there never was a greater number of seamen provided

for

for by Parliament, than what is now proposed, in a time of profound peace; for 30,000 seamen and 8000 marines was, as I have already taken notice, the greatest number that was provided for by Parliament, in one year of that glorious and successful war.

To pretend, Sir, that the preparations we made last year, or the powers granted by last session of Parliament to his Majesty, produced the acceptation of our good offices, is something very surprising, especially when we consider what sort of an acceptation we have been favoured with: The Emperor has accepted of our good offices under this express provision, that his acceptance should not be looked on as a passing from those succours which he insisted on we were obliged to furnish him, by the treaties now subsisting between us: And the allies have likewise made their acceptation conditional; for they have accepted of our good offices under this express condition, that we should continue neutral, with respect to the present disputes between them and the Emperor. Can it be imagined that warlike preparations were necessary, or that extraordinary powers granted by Parliament were necessary, for producing such limited acceptations? Can any man doubt but that we should have obtained such an acceptation of our good offices, tho' no such preparations had ever been made, tho' no such powers had ever been granted. But even supposing that this acceptation was produced by the warlike preparations we made last year, must not every man agree, that this conditional limited acceptation has cost us a terrible price, when he considers, that it has cost this nation at least a million sterling; and if the plan we are to offer, in pursuance of this acceptation, should at last be rejected, what benefit, what honour can we receive from the expences we have put ourselves to?

For

‘ For our encouragement to go on with these  
‘ peaceful preparations, we are told, Sir, that the  
‘ *Dutch* have joined cordially with us in all our mea-  
‘ sures: This, Sir, I shall not say I am surpris’d at,  
‘ for it really amazes me. How far they have join-  
‘ ed with us in the tender of good offices, or in con-  
‘ certing a plan for a pacification, I shall not pre-  
‘ tend to determine: In this they may perhaps have  
‘ complimented us a little, because it cost them no-  
‘ thing; and they may easily excuse themselves in  
‘ case the plan should prove disagreeable to either of  
‘ the parties concerned; but that they have put them-  
‘ selves to the same expence we have done, or that  
‘ they have put themselves to any expence on ac-  
‘ count of the present war, cannot surely, with any  
‘ justice be pretended. To tell us, that just before  
‘ the war broke out, one, or perhaps two, of the  
‘ seven united provinces had come to a resolution,  
‘ to reduce 10,000 men, and to conclude from  
‘ thence that 20,000 would certainly have been re-  
‘ duced, if the war had not broke out, must appear  
‘ to be a very extraordinary sort of reasoning, to  
‘ every man who understands any thing of the con-  
‘ stitution of that republic: By their constitution,  
‘ every one of the seven provinces must have con-  
‘ sented, before that resolution could have taken ef-  
‘ fect; and tho’ the interior provinces, who lie re-  
‘ mote from danger, were perhaps for that reduc-  
‘ tion, yet the frontier provinces, whose only de-  
‘ fence against sudden invasions consists in the mul-  
‘ titude of their fortified towns, the strength of their  
‘ fortifications, and the numbers of men in the se-  
‘ veral garrisons, would never have consented to  
‘ such a reduction; so that the resolution taken by  
‘ one province would probably have been of no ef-  
‘ fect, even as to the 10,000; but to argue from  
‘ thence, that they would certainly have reduced  
‘ another 10,000, is really such reasoning as I am  
‘ amazed to hear in this house: It really looks, as if  
‘ some



‘ some gentlemen thought we wanted only a pre-  
‘ tence for agreeing to what they have a mind to  
‘ propose.

‘ ‘Tis true the *Dutch* did, immediately after the  
‘ peace of *Utrecht*, reduce their army to about 32,000  
‘ men ; but at that time they knew, that all the  
‘ kingdoms and states in *Europe* were sick of war ;  
‘ they could easily foresee, or at least they thought  
‘ so, that there was not the least danger of any rup-  
‘ ture for several years to come ; and therefore their  
‘ frontier provinces then easily consented to that great  
‘ reduction ; but considering the vast extensive fron-  
‘ tier they have to guard, and the multitude of gar-  
‘ risons they are obliged to keep in their own fron-  
‘ tier towns, as well as in the barrier towns they  
‘ have in the *Austrian Netherlands*, such a small  
‘ number of regular troops is almost at all times in-  
‘ consistent with the safety of their state ; and more-  
‘ over it is, and always was, inconsistent with, and  
‘ contrary to, the treaties and alliances they have  
‘ both with the Emperor and us ; accordingly, both  
‘ the Emperor and we complained heavily at that  
‘ time, of the great reduction they had made ; and  
‘ this nation, in particular, had like to have suffered  
‘ by it ; for upon the rebellion, which broke out  
‘ soon after in this kingdom, it is well known, that  
‘ the *Dutch* could not send us the quota of troops,  
‘ which, upon that occasion, they were obliged by  
‘ treaty to send us, till we got troops marched down  
‘ from *Germany* to replace their troops, before a man  
‘ of them could stir out of the garrison he belonged  
‘ to : Nay, farther, Sir, it is very well known that  
‘ the Emperor by treaty, pays them yearly 5 or  
‘ 600,000 crowns, out of the first and readiest of  
‘ his revenues in the *Netherlands*, in order to enable  
‘ them to maintain their barrier, and to keep at all  
‘ times a sufficient body of troops in their service ;  
‘ so that if they should make any great reduction in  
‘ their army, the Emperor would have very good



' reason to stop the payment of that subsidy : Upon  
 ' the whole we must conclude, that if the *Dutch* had  
 ' made any reduction in their army, and much more  
 ' the two reductions talked of by the hon. gentleman,  
 ' they would have acted contrary to the treaties sub-  
 ' sisting between them and their allies, and incon-  
 ' sistently with the safety of their country ; therefore  
 ' we ought certainly to presume, that all the seven  
 ' provinces would never have consented to it, though  
 ' no war had broke out ; and I am apt to believe  
 ' the resolution talked of, which was a resolution of  
 ' the province of *Holland* only, was a piece of meer  
 ' policy, without any design that the resolution should  
 ' actually take effect.

' Thus, Sir, I have, I think, made it evident,  
 ' that the *Dutch* have put themselves to no expence  
 ' on account of the war, no, not even in the sense  
 ' the hon. gentleman was pleased to insist on ; and  
 ' indeed they have not, of late, seemed to join cor-  
 ' dially with us in any thing but good offices, which  
 ' they are sure can neither put them to any expence,  
 ' nor do them any other injury : Their treaty of  
 ' neutrality, it is certain, they concerted and con-  
 ' cluded without our participation ; and, I believe,  
 ' without our privity ; and though they have re-  
 ' served a power of sending the stipulated succours  
 ' to the Emperor, yet that does not much alter the  
 ' case, if we consider what is meant by these suc-  
 ' cours.

' The succours there meant, are those stipulated  
 ' by the late treaty of *Vienna*, in which we, it is  
 ' true, got them named principal contracting par-  
 ' ties ; but this, to me, seems to have been nothing  
 ' but a poor expedient, contrived by some of the  
 ' ministers concerned in that negotiation, on purpose  
 ' to make the world believe, that we did nothing  
 ' but in concert with our ancient and natural allies,  
 ' the *Dutch* ; for in the negotiating and concluding  
 ' of that treaty, they were so far from acting cordi-  
 ' ally

ally, or in concert with us, that after we had gone at once over head and ears into that treaty, and had thereby obliged ourselves to guaranty the pragmatic sanction, *totis viribus*, it was with great difficulty they were, after a long negotiation, brought in to accede to that treaty, though we had then a noble Lord at the *Hague* as our minister, who was as able a minister, and as good a negotiator as any we ever had in any part of *Europe*; and even at last, they were very far from coming plumb into that treaty or guaranty; for the succours they then stipulated were limited to 4000 foot and 1000 horse, or a number of ships in proportion to that number of troops, at their own option; so that we may believe the *French* gave themselves very little trouble about admitting that reserve in the treaty of neutrality, afterwards concluded between them and the *Dutch*.

Nay farther, Sir, notwithstanding this limited manner of the *Dutch* accession to the treaty of *Vienna*, yet so clearly did they foresee the consequences of that treaty, that the very next day after the accession was signed, their Pensionary came to that noble Lord, who was then, as I have said, our minister at the *Hague*, and proposed to him, to enter with us into a treaty of neutrality, not only with respect to *Flanders*, but also with respect to several other countries in *Europe*, about which disputes might arise; and, I suppose, upon our neglecting or refusing that proposition, they afterwards resolved upon the treaty of neutrality with *France*; and concluded it without letting us into the secret. Thus, Sir, the *Dutch* have, in all their late negotiations, taken particular care of their own security, without rashly disobliging any power in *Europe*; whereas we, by our hasty and inconsiderate conclusion of the treaty of *Hanover*, and the measures thereafter pursued, disobliged both the Emperor and *Spain*, without gaining one advantage

‘ to ourselves ; by the treaty of *Seville*, by which  
 ‘ we endeavoured to reconcile ourselves to *Spain*, we  
 ‘ still farther disobliged the Emperor, without ob-  
 ‘ taining any advantage to ourselves, or even satis-  
 ‘ faction from *Spain* for the depredations committed  
 ‘ upon us ; and by the treaty of *Vienna* we again  
 ‘ disobliged *Spain*, and highly affronted *France*, still  
 ‘ without obtaining any advantage for this nation,  
 ‘ but, on the contrary, engaging in a very dangerous  
 ‘ guarantee : This, indeed, neither *France* nor any  
 ‘ other power had reason to be angry at ; but *France*  
 ‘ had some reason to be affronted at the manner in  
 ‘ which it was done ; because by the treaty of  
 ‘ *Hanover*, in which *France* and we were the two  
 ‘ principal contracting parties, both were expressly  
 ‘ obliged to enter into no negotiation or treaty,  
 ‘ without communicating the same to the other.

‘ From what the hon. gentleman said, about our  
 ‘ having reduced 8000 men out of the 26,000 our  
 ‘ army was increased to, after the late famous treaty  
 ‘ of *Hanover*, he seems to think, that this nation is  
 ‘ always to be loaded with an army of 18,000 at  
 ‘ least, even in the times of the greatest tranquillity ;  
 ‘ but I must beg his pardon to observe, that in a  
 ‘ time of profound tranquillity, an army of 7 or  
 ‘ 8000 men is not only sufficient, but as great as  
 ‘ ought to be kept up in this nation, if we have a  
 ‘ mind to preserve our liberties ; and therefore I must  
 ‘ conclude, that if this war had not broke out, we  
 ‘ would certainly have reduced 10,000 of our regu-  
 ‘ lar troops last year ; for it is as much inconsistent  
 ‘ with the safety of this nation, to keep up more than  
 ‘ 8000 in time of peace, as it is inconsistent with the  
 ‘ safety of the *Dutch* to keep less than 52,000 ; be-  
 ‘ cause we have no frontier to defend, nor any gar-  
 ‘ rison to support ; there can be no reason assigned  
 ‘ for our keeping up any greater number in time of  
 ‘ peace, unless it be to support a hated minister, a-  
 ‘ gainst the resentments of an injured people ; which

‘ I hope

‘ I hope will never be the case of this nation ; but if  
‘ ever it should, I am sure it would then be ridicu-  
‘ lous to call ourselves a free people. In this view,  
‘ Sir, let us consider the charges we have been at on  
‘ account of the present war ; we have been at the  
‘ charge of this 10,000 land forces, which we might  
‘ otherwise have reduced ; we have been at the  
‘ charge of 6 or 7000 land forces, which have been  
‘ added to our former number ; and if we have at  
‘ present 27,000 seamen in our pay, we have been  
‘ at the charge of adding no less than 19,000 men  
‘ to our naval force ; so that if it were true, that the  
‘ *Dutch* have kept up 20,000 men, which they in-  
‘ tended to have reduced, yet the expence they have  
‘ been at would not be equal to what we have been  
‘ at, nor could it be any argument for the augmenta-  
‘ tion now proposed ; because it is not so much as  
‘ pretended, that the *Dutch* intend to put themselves  
‘ to any greater charge for the year ensuing, than  
‘ they were at in the year past ; and therefore I must  
‘ think the honourable gentlemen, who are for the  
‘ augmentation proposed, would have done better  
‘ not to have mentioned the *Dutch* in this day’s de-  
‘ bate ; for let them put the conduct of the *Dutch* in  
‘ what light they will, it can no way answer the pre-  
‘ sent purpose.

‘ As for that material question, Whether or no  
‘ we ought to engage in the present war ? It is in-  
‘ deed a material question ; but, Sir, it is a question  
‘ which no gentleman in this house, nor any man in  
‘ the nation can answer, without being let into the  
‘ secret of all our late treaties and negotiations. Thus  
‘ much I shall say, that considering the melancholy  
‘ situation of this country, the great load of debts,  
‘ and the heavy taxes we already groan under, it is  
‘ certain we ought not to involve ourselves in war,  
‘ but in a case of the extremest necessity ; and till  
‘ that happens, I am very sure, that every article of  
‘ expence ought to be most cautiously avoided, that



' we may be the more able to support a war, when  
 ' fatal necessity drives us into it whether we will or  
 ' no. If neither the liberties of *Europe* in general,  
 ' nor the interest of this nation in particular, be in  
 ' danger by the present war, we have already gone  
 ' too far; for, besides the great expence we have put  
 ' ourselves to, the great preparations we have made  
 ' may disappoint and prevent the effect of those good  
 ' offices his Majesty is employing, for restoring the  
 ' peace of *Europe*; because they may give one side  
 ' reason to hope, that we are to join with them,  
 ' which will, of course, prevent their hearkening to  
 ' those terms of peace they would otherwise have been  
 ' glad to have accepted of; or they may give a jea-  
 ' lously to the other side, that we are to join against  
 ' them, which will, of course, make them suspect  
 ' every thing we can propose, for bringing about  
 ' an accommodation.

' Besides these disadvantages, Sir, it is certain,  
 ' that the great naval equipment we made last year,  
 ' put a very great damp upon our trade, and gave  
 ' all our neighbours, but more particularly the *Dutch*,  
 ' a very great advantage over us: It is true, we ex-  
 ' ported a great quantity of corn last summer, but  
 ' that was owing to the situation and circumstances  
 ' of our country, and not at all to our management;  
 ' for while our merchants were paying double freight  
 ' for ships, and double wages to seamen, the *Dutch*  
 ' and *Hamburgers*, and all our other rivals in trade,  
 ' were carrying on their trade at the usual rates,  
 ' which gave them a great advantage in every branch  
 ' of trade, more particularly in the corn trade, where  
 ' the usual freight bears such a great proportion to  
 ' the prime cost: Nay, such a scarcity was there at  
 ' last of seamen in this kingdom, that our merchants  
 ' could not really get ships, to carry out the cargoes  
 ' of corn they had ready to have been exported; and  
 ' while a stop was thus put to our exportation, the  
 ' *Dutch* and others, who had by this time got an ac-  
 ' count



' count of the demand, sent out their ships, and glut-  
' ed the markets for corn, both in *Spain* and *Portu-*  
' *gal*, as well as in *Italy*; so that if we had not made  
' such a great naval equipment, it is certain, a much  
' greater quantity of our corn would have been ex-  
' ported than really was.

' But if the balance of power in *Europe*, or the  
' particular interest of this nation was really in dan-  
' ger, surely Sir, we ought to have engaged at first;  
' we ought not surely to wait, till those whose in-  
' terest it is to join with us in the defence of either, be  
' so far disabled as to be rendered incapable, either  
' to assist us or to defend themselves. As to the  
' particular interest of this nation, whether it be in  
' danger, or not, from the present war, must in-  
' tirely depend upon our late negotiations; and there-  
' fore it is, at present, impossible for me to form any  
' judgment in that respect, because I am intirely  
' ignorant of our situation, in so far as relates to our  
' foreign affairs; but from our not having joined in  
' the beginning of the war, I must conclude, that  
' the particular interest of this nation is no way con-  
' cerned in it; and therefore I must think, it was  
' quite unnecessary to put ourselves to any charges on  
' that account.

' As for the balance of power, it ought certainly  
' to be preserved: In this, Sir, all the other Prin-  
' ces and states of *Europe* are as much, nay more  
' nearly concerned than we; therefore they ought to  
' bear their share in the expence, and will certainly  
' do so when they find it necessary; but if upon  
' this pretence, we run ourselves headlong into every  
' broil that happens in *Europe*, the *Dutch*, as  
' well as the rest, will, very probably, leave the  
' whole charge upon us; they will neglect pro-  
' viding in time, even for their own defence, when  
' they find us such dupes as to be ready, upon all  
' occasions, to make that provision for them: Whe-  
' ther our late preparations have given them any

' ground to think so, I shall not pretend to deter-  
 ' mine ; but, as I look upon the *Dutch* to be a  
 ' very wise people, I must either conclude that they  
 ' think so, in which case we ought not, by any new  
 ' augmentation, to encourage them in that opinion;  
 ' or I must conclude, that the balance of power is  
 ' not in any danger ; for though it could be sup-  
 ' posed, that the chief magistrates in *Holland* were  
 ' inclined to sacrifice the interest or the safety of their  
 ' country, to their own safeties, or their own little  
 ' private views ; yet if the balance of power were  
 ' in any danger, the people would force them to  
 ' join in the war : The magistrates of that republic  
 ' are not protected, either by riot acts, or by regu-  
 ' lar troops quartered in the very bowels of their  
 ' country ; and therefore the people might, and cer-  
 ' tainly would force them to do their duty, or would  
 ' massacre them as they have done heretofore : For  
 ' this reason, I am inclined to think, that the balance  
 ' of power is not yet in any danger ; and if the ba-  
 ' lance of power be as yet in no danger, nor the  
 ' particular interest of this nation in any danger,  
 ' there was no occasion for our being at any expence  
 ' on account of the present war, much less is there  
 ' any occasion for our putting ourselves to the ex-  
 ' pence of the augmentation proposed ; for which  
 ' reason I must be against it.

The reply made to this was in substance as follows,  
*viz.*

Reply.

' Gentlemen, Sir, have, of late, fallen into a me-  
 ' thod of departing from the question in hand, and  
 ' throwing out a great many things no way relating  
 ' to the subject they speak to. This, I suppose,  
 ' they do, with design to make an impression upon  
 ' some that hear them, and conscious that they can-  
 ' not convince by reason, they endeavour to persuade  
 ' by oratory, and by flourished expressions, no way  
 ' relating

‘ relating to the affair in dispute : Though it be irregular even to follow them in these deviations, yet, as such things ought not to pass without some sort of answer, I hope the house will give me leave to make a few remarks upon some things that have been said, notwithstanding their having no relation to the affair now before us ; but first, I shall endeavour to speak to the question in hand. The only proper question now before us, Sir, I take to be, What is the number of seamen necessary for the security of this nation, during the ensuing year ? Which is a question that, in my opinion, no way relates to our past conduct, to the conduct of any of our allies, nor to the question, Whether or no we ought to take a share in the present war ?

‘ With relation to the question now before us, his Majesty has given us, from the throne, all the information that is proper or necessary, and all the information that can, I think, be desired by any man who wishes well to his country : He told us, at the beginning of last session of Parliament, that he was no way engaged in the present war, nor had any part, except by his good offices, in those transactions, which had been declared to be the causes and motives of it ; but that he could not sit regardless of the events of this war, nor could he be unconcerned for the future consequences of it ; and I am sure no man, who has a regard to the welfare of this nation, or to the security of his Majesty’s person and government, can desire he should : At the beginning of this session his Majesty told us, that he is not yet any farther engaged, than by employing his good offices, in conjunction with the *Dutch*, for restoring the peace of *Europe* ; but that his good offices have not, as yet, had the desired effect : We are therefore, in the present question, to suppose, that this nation is not, at yet, any way engaged in the war ; but, as his Majesty has told us, the bad consequences that  
‘ may

' may arise and affect us, by the war's being carried  
 ' on, are obvious, and they ought certainly to be  
 ' provided against, let the charge be what it will.  
 ' Where facts are notoriously known to the whole  
 ' world, where consequences are obvious to every  
 ' man of common capacity, surely gentlemen do  
 ' not expect that his Majesty, either in his speech  
 ' or by particular message, should give this house a  
 ' long and particular detail, of such facts or of such  
 ' consequences; the bare mention of them is enough;  
 ' and that his Majesty has sufficiently done, both at  
 ' the beginning of the last, and at the beginning of  
 ' the present session of Parliament.

' The balance of power in *Europe*, may perhaps  
 ' not be as yet in danger: Nay, Sir, we are to sup-  
 ' pose it is not in danger; for if it were, his Majesty  
 ' would certainly have acquainted his Parliament  
 ' with it, and we should have been now providing  
 ' for a vigorous war, instead of providing only for  
 ' our security and defence. Both parties, as yet,  
 ' profess their sincere disposition to put an end to the  
 ' present troubles, upon honourable and solid terms;  
 ' and these professions may, at present, be truly sin-  
 ' cere; but the events of war may make them alter  
 ' their professions, or may render their professions in-  
 ' sincere; and these events may be so sudden, and  
 ' so extraordinary, that without our joining imme-  
 ' diately in the war, one of the parties engaged may  
 ' be utterly undone: Two or three signal and intire  
 ' victories might, in a few months, have such con-  
 ' sequences, as might put it out of our power to re-  
 ' lieve the party conquered, or to stem the torrent of  
 ' success on the side of the conqueror; and I am sure  
 ' it cannot be pretended, that in a few months we  
 ' could raise and discipline such armies, and fit out  
 ' such fleets as would be necessary, both for the de-  
 ' fence of our own dominions, and for assisting ef-  
 ' fectually the party in danger of being quite undone:  
 ' Armies, 'tis true, may be soon raised; but ac-  
 ' cording



‘ cording to the exact discipline now observed, it requires many months before those armies can be made fit for service, or proper to engage against an army of veteran, well-disciplined troops ; and I shall likewise grant, that our ships of war may be manned with one third land men, or marines ; but even these land men or marines must be some time on board, before they can either know or perform their duty in the fighting of a ship ; for, I believe, a man of war, with a third part of her men just taken from the plough, would make but a poor figure against a ship of equal force, provided with able sailors and well disciplined marines : For this reason, Sir, when the affairs of *Europe* are brought to such a crisis, that an unlucky accident may render it absolutely necessary for us to engage immediately and without delay, in the war, I must think it is incumbent upon us to provide in time, in order to have a sufficient number of well-disciplined men, both for sea and land service, so ready and so much at command, as to enable us to perform immediately that part, which a sudden emergency may make requisite, both for our own safety and the safety of *Europe* ; and this cannot be done but by augmentations timeously made, both to our fleets and armies.

‘ As the preservation of the balance of power, is of so much consequence to this nation, and so intimately connected with our safety, it is very certain, that whatever power in *Europe* may project the overturning of that balance, that power must expect to have *Great Britain* for her enemy, as soon as her project comes to be discovered ; we may therefore be assured, that when any one of the powers of *Europe* begins to entertain such an ambitious view, they will, of course, endeavour to make a diversion, by invading this island ; and this they will the more readily attempt, because we have always a strong party among us, who are ready



ready to second any foreign attempts, for the accomplishments of their own selfish views, especially if at any time, they find us not properly provided for our own defence. Because one of our neighbouring powers is engaged in war with another, we are not from thence to conclude, that neither of them will make any attempts upon this island; for if either of the parties engaged in war, has really a design to overturn the balance of power, they will certainly conceal that design, and endeavour to cover it with professions of justice and moderation, as long as they can; but when they find, they can conceal it no longer, when they find that we begin to know what they aim at, can we believe, that they will wait till we attack them, or join with their enemies against them? On the contrary, ought we not to expect that they will endeavour to divert us, by giving us some business at home; and how do we or can we know, but this may be the case at present? Ought not we therefore to provide against such attempts in time, that we may be at liberty to do our duty, when we find the balance of power is really the thing struck at?

Gentlemen cannot, it seems, distinguish, or at least, Sir, I find they will not distinguish between events which might have happened, and events which, by proper precautions, were perhaps prevented and kept from happening: If by not providing in time for our defence, some signal misfortune should happen to the nation, such men would then have a just reason for finding fault with those employed in the administration; and if any such thing had lately happened, I do not doubt, but it would have been propagated with great industry, that our surprise was intirely owing to the two blundering brothers; but when all such accidents are prevented, by the prudent measures that have been pursued, and by making seasonable and proper provisions for our defence, then it is pretended

we

‘ we never were in any danger, and from thence  
‘ they take occasion, to find fault with the expences  
‘ that have been wisely and necessarily incurred, by  
‘ the making of such seasonable and proper provi-  
‘ sions; and thus, Sir, some gentlemen will always  
‘ find plausible pretences, for decrying those measures  
‘ that have been pursued, let them be what they will.  
‘ However, I shall always think, they act the best  
‘ and the wisest part, who choose to give us time and  
‘ leisure, to roast them in this house, for their ex-  
‘ pensive and extravagant measures, rather than to  
‘ have our attention diverted from them, by a civil  
‘ war kindled up, or a foreign army actually landed  
‘ in the island: And when a war was broke out, in  
‘ which this nation might very probably be involved;  
‘ when our neighbours, and those neighbours too,  
‘ from whom we have most to fear, were leading  
‘ out great armies, and fitting out powerful squa-  
‘ drons, I must think, that it was at least prudent in  
‘ us, to make those provisions for our security which  
‘ were made last year; and as we are in the greater  
‘ danger of being involved, the longer the war con-  
‘ tinues, I cannot be against the small augmentation  
‘ now proposed.

‘ To pretend to tell us, Sir, what *France* and  
‘ *Spain* intended to have done last year, or to pretend  
‘ to tell us what they intend to do this next year,  
‘ with the ships of war they have continued in com-  
‘ mission, is, I think, something extraordinary. We  
‘ may perhaps guess at some of their designs, but I  
‘ shall always think it very imprudent, to leave the  
‘ peace and quiet of this nation, to depend upon  
‘ such guess-work, especially when we consider, that  
‘ they have no occasion to fit out any great fleet a-  
‘ gainst any power in *Europe* but ourselves; and  
‘ therefore it is not to be presumed, that they would  
‘ put themselves to such a great expence, unless they  
‘ were suspicious, that the measures they have resolv-  
‘ ed to pursue, may probably make this nation en-  
‘ gage

‘ gage against them; and in such a case, I think it  
‘ is natural to believe, they would take the first op-  
‘ portunity to invade or disturb us: They have such  
‘ an absolute command over all the seamen of their  
‘ country, they have always such numbers of regu-  
‘ lar troops upon their coasts, or within a few days  
‘ march of their sea-ports, that when they have their  
‘ ships ready equipt and fit for sailing, it would be  
‘ easy for them to clap seamen and land forces on  
‘ board, and they might arrive upon the coasts of  
‘ this kingdom, before it would be possible for us  
‘ to man and fit out a fleet sufficient to engage them,  
‘ if we had not made some extraordinary provision  
‘ beforehand: This every man must be convinced  
‘ of, who knows the difficulty we had to procure  
‘ seamen enow, for the squadron we fitted out last  
‘ summer, notwithstanding the long time we had to  
‘ look for them, and the method of pressing, which  
‘ we were even then obliged to make use of. Nor  
‘ does it signify to tell us, that at this rate, we shall  
‘ always be obliged to fit out squadrons, and put  
‘ ourselves to a great expence, whenever any of our  
‘ neighbours begin to fit out one; for I take it to be  
‘ a right maxim, I really think we ought to prepare  
‘ and fit out a squadron, whenever we see any of  
‘ our neighbours doing so, unless we very well know  
‘ the purposes their squadron is designed for; the  
‘ expence bestowed upon fitting out a squadron, may  
‘ be an expence to the public, but it is little or no  
‘ loss to the nation; the whole is expended among  
‘ our own people, and it not only improves our sea-  
‘ men, by making them acquainted with the service  
‘ on board a man of war, but it increases their num-  
‘ ber; for every fleet we fit out, encourages a num-  
‘ ber of land-men to engage in the sea-service;  
‘ whereas, if by neglecting to do so, the nation  
‘ should be invaded, and a civil war kindled up, the  
‘ nation would in that case suffer a real loss; a loss  
‘ which might far surmount the expence the public  
‘ could

‘ could be put to, by the fitting out of twenty squadrons ; so that, the nation may suffer by neglecting this maxim, but it can never suffer by observing it.

‘ I shall readily grant, that this nation would be more formidable, if we owed no public debts, and had the same fleet, and the same regular army we have at present ; but if we had no squadron ready to put to sea, nor any regular troops ready to take the field, I cannot admit that we would then be so formidable as we are at present, even tho’ we did not owe a shilling in the world. We all know, that what now makes a nation formidable, is not the number nor the riches of its inhabitants, but the number of ships of war, provided with able seamen, and the number of regular well-disciplined troops they have at command ; and, whatever gentlemen may think, of the acceptation of his Majesty’s good offices, I am persuaded they would not have been so readily accepted, if the parties had not seen us preparing to do them bad offices, in case they had refused to accept of our good. The accepting of our good offices, will at least furnish us with an opportunity of making ourselves better acquainted, with the views of all the parties concerned ; and there is no condition annexed by either party, but what was and must have been understood, when we made the offer ; for surely, when we offered the interposition of our good offices, we were not to suppose, that the Emperor was, by his acceptance, to pass from any demand he thought he had upon us, nor were we to suppose, that the allies would or could accept of our good offices, unless we continued neutral ; and while we do so, our preparations can give no encouragement to either side, to insist upon unreasonable terms, nor can they give the least jealousy to either side, unless one or the other have views,

‘ which



‘ which they know to be inconsistent with the preservation of the balance of power in *Europe*.

‘ I find, Sir, some gentlemen have got into a very odd way of talking, when they have occasion to mention the public expence; for if it in the least exceeds a million, it is to be called two; if it exceeds two, it is to be called three; and because it may probably this year a little exceed three millions, therefore it is to be called four; so that a million with these gentlemen, seems to be of very little consideration; yet when we talk of *English* money, I cannot but think, that a million, or near a million, is a sum not to be despised, and one in four is certainly a very material difference. What the public expence was, during the war in King *William*’s reign, or what the number of seamen was, that was kept up during the late war, I shall not now enquire; I believe both were as the honourable gentleman has been pleased to represent; but I think neither material at present; for we are not to proportion our yearly expence, or our number of seamen, by past times, but by the present necessities: When our neighbours increase their public expence, or their number either of seamen or land soldiers, we must increase ours, otherwise we may happen to fall a sacrifice to our frugality; and, as both *France* and *Spain*, but especially the latter, have very much increased their naval force since last war, if we should be obliged to engage against those two powers, which I hope will not be the case, it is certain, we would be obliged to maintain a greater number of seamen, than we had at any time, during the late war, and the sooner we begin to provide, the less harm will we do our merchants, the less stagnation will we make in our trade.

‘ This, Sir, naturally leads me, to take notice of the damage done to our trade, by the fitting out of a squadron last summer. I shall allow that our merchants thereby suffered some inconvenience,

‘ and



and were put to a greater charge then usual for the freight of ships and wages of seamen ; but when the whole is in danger, the private interest of particular persons must yield to it ; and the stop that that was put to our trade last summer is, in my opinion, the strongest argument that can be thought of, for the augmentation now proposed, and for our laying it down as a maxim, always to begin early to fit out squadrons, as soon as the danger of war begins to appear ; for if we should never think of any augmentation of seamen, till we come upon the very brink of a war, we must take or press thirty, or perhaps 40,000 seamen, all at once into the service of the public ; and if the raising of 12 or 15,000 seamen last summer, put such a damp upon our trade, surely the raising of 30 or 40,000 all at once, would put an intire stop to it ; whereas, if we begin early, and raise our seamen by degrees, fresh men, encouraged by the high wages, will be daily entering into the merchants service, those that enter this year will be good seamen against next ; and thus every year will afford a new fleece for the navy, so that in a little time, we may have our navy fully provided, even for the most heavy war, without putting at any time any great stop to our trade.

As for the *Dutch*, Sir, I do not think it necessary, to enter into a disquisition about what they have done, what they ought to do, or what number of land forces may be necessary, for the safety of their republic? For tho' they are our natural allies, yet surely we are not in every thing to be directed altogether by their conduct : We are a distinct nation ; tho' our interests be generally the same, yet in some particular cases, they may happen to be different ; and when it so happens, we must certainly follow different measures. The *Dutch* are, it is true, a wise people, but as wise as they are, they may perhaps neglect or mistake their

own interest, as well as the general interest of *Europe*, and if they do so, must we necessarily do the same? I hope no such thing will be pretended; for in such a case, we would become in some manner, a province of *Holland*; we would become a meer cypher in all public transactions, and would be no way regarded by any of the powers of *Europe*; for if they could but secure the *Dutch*, they might always depend upon getting us into the same measure; and when the *Dutch* found we had such a thorough dependence upon them, for as good allies as they are, they might, perhaps, now and then make use of it in a way, which would no way contribute, either to our interest or honour.

Permit me now, Sir, to take some notice of the reflections that have been thrown out upon our late negotiations and treaties. As for the treaties of *Hanover* and *Seville*, we had certainly very good reasons to enter into them, at the time they were negotiated and concluded; and as they were both approved by both houses of Parliament, I think I have no call to say any thing in favour of either; for the approbation of a *British* Parliament, I take to be a more authentic proof of their utility, than any thing that can be said by a private gentleman in their commendation; and all the objections to them have been already so often answered, that it is needless to repeat them: But when gentlemen give us such a terrible view of the consequences that may ensue, in case the present Emperor should happen to die, before the affairs of *Germany* are fully settled, I am surprised to hear them find fault with the late treaty of *Vienna*, which was concluded for no other end, but to prevent that fatal catastrophe: Fatal it certainly would be to the affairs of *Europe* in general, and therefore I must think we had the strongest inducement, to enter into the guaranty of the pragmatic Sanction, in the most unlimited manner, as being the only expedient, by which

‘ which that fatal catastrophe may be prevented,  
‘ What reasons the *Dutch* might have for their  
‘ backwardness or caution about entering into that  
‘ treaty, I do not know; but if I were to judge  
‘ of their wisdom from their behaviour in that  
‘ respect, I cannot say I should have the best opi-  
‘ nion of it.

‘ With regard to the attack made upon the Em-  
‘ peror in *Italy* by the *Spaniards* and the King of  
‘ *Sardinia*, it is certain, that this nation has neither  
‘ given them any encouragement nor any provo-  
‘ cation to do so; and whether the imperial court  
‘ has given them any just provocation, is an affair  
‘ which the mediators must of course inquire into,  
‘ when they come to offer a plan for a pacifica-  
‘ tion. As to the affair of *Poland*, where the ho-  
‘ nourable gentleman had his information, with re-  
‘ spect to what he has been pleased to relate to us  
‘ about that affair, I shall not pretend to guess; but  
‘ I must believe, that his Majesty knows nothing  
‘ about any such answer’s having ever been given to  
‘ the *French*, or about any such instructions having  
‘ been sent to his minister in *Poland*: This I must  
‘ believe, from what his Majesty told us in his speech  
‘ at the opening of last session of Parliament; and  
‘ if there ever was any such thing, I am very  
‘ sure that I am not to answer for all the measures  
‘ that have been lately pursued, for that is one I  
‘ know nothing about.

‘ To conclude, Sir, the nation has already been  
‘ put to a great expence, and must be yet put to a  
‘ farther expence on account of the present war;  
‘ perhaps too, some private men may have been  
‘ exposed to some inconveniences, by the prepara-  
‘ tions we have already made; but these expences  
‘ and these inconveniences ought to be borne with  
‘ patience, when we consider the difference between  
‘ our situation and that of some of our neighbours:  
‘ I believe I may justly compute, that by the bloody

' and obstinate battles, sieges and skirmishes, which  
 ' have already happened since this war first broke  
 ' out, each of the parties engaged has lost at least  
 ' 50,000 men; so that while the trade of our neigh-  
 ' bours is interrupted, while a stop has been put to  
 ' all sorts of manufactures and improvements among  
 ' them, while their lands are laid waste, and such  
 ' multitudes of their men destroyed, we have carried  
 ' on our trade with security, our manufactures have  
 ' been improved, and extraordinary quantities of  
 ' our corn exported; no *British* farmer has been  
 ' disturbed, not an acre of *British* land laid waste,  
 ' not a drop of *British* blood spilt: Therefore,  
 ' while we enjoy so much safety and quiet, I can-  
 ' not think any man has reason to complain of the  
 ' charge the nation has been put to, or of the few  
 ' inconveniences he has suffered, for the preserva-  
 ' tion of that safety and quiet which he has enjoy-  
 ' ed; and as I am fully satisfied, that what is now  
 ' proposed is absolutely necessary, for securing our  
 ' future enjoyment of the same safety and quiet, I  
 ' shall most heartily give my consent.

Division:

According to the method of proceeding in the  
 house, when two different numbers, or two different  
 sums, are proposed to be granted by Parliament, the  
 question is always first put for the smallest number or  
 sum, and therefore in this case the question was first  
 put for 20,000 seamen, which, upon a division, was  
 carried in the negative, 256 to 183. Then the que-  
 stion was put for the 30,000, which was carried in  
 the affirmative, without a division.

The chief speakers in this debate were, for the  
 30,000 men, Sir Robert Walpole, Horatio Walpole,  
 Esq; and James Oglethorpe, Esq; and the chief  
 speakers for the 20,000 seamen, were Sir John Bar-  
 nard, Sir William Wyndham, William Pulteney, Esq;  
 the master of the Rolls, and Robert Willmot, Esq;

After

After this resolution was agreed to, the house came to a second resolution, as usual, That *4l. per man per month*, should be allowed for maintaining the said 30,000 seamen, for thirteen months, including the ordnance for sea-service.

ON *Thursday* the 13th day of *February*, a motion was made in the house of Commons, Motion for an address.  
 ' That an humble address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give directions to the proper officer or officers, to lay before that house an account of the expences incurred, in consequence and by virtue of the vote of credit and confidence, which was passed in that house towards the end of last session of Parliament.

To this motion it was objected, ' That the house Objections  
 ' had then before them what was proposed to be against it.  
 ' desired by the address moved for; for in one account they had the whole of the expences that had been incurred by any addition made to the sea-service, in consequence of that vote of credit; in another they had an account of the whole expences that had been incurred by any addition made to the land-service; and in the third they had an account of what had been incurred on occasion of the treaty lately concluded with *Denmark*: Besides all which, they had an account of what monies had been issued from the treasury for all or either of these services, in pursuance of a clause in an act of Parliament, passed last session, for enabling his Majesty to apply any part of the money granted for the service of last year, towards the expence of making such augmentations of his forces by sea or land, or of concerting such other measures as he should judge necessary for the safety of this nation. That from these accounts any



‘ man might easily see what expences had been incurred, in consequence of that vote of credit; for that as to the sea-service, whatever appeared from that account to have been incurred, over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for maintaining the 20,000 seamen then voted for last year’s service, must appear to be an additional expence, incurred in consequence of that vote of credit; as to the land-service, whatever appeared from the account then before them relating to that service, to have been incurred over and above what was granted by last Parliament, for maintaining the 17,704 land forces then voted to be kept up in *Great Britain, Guernsey and Jersey*, for last year, must be an additional expence incurred, in consequence of that vote of credit: And as to what had been incurred on occasion of the late treaty with *Denmark*, it was certain, the whole was to be placed to the account of expences incurred, in consequence of that confidence and credit, which was so reasonably and so necessarily invested in his Majesty by last session of Parliament; so that they could not possibly expect any farther or new accounts by the address proposed; and the presenting of such an address would, in their opinion, shew a want of respect to his Majesty, and a sort of jealousy and diffidence in what he had already ordered to be laid before them.

Amendment offered. Upon this objection’s being made, it was proposed to add these words, viz. ‘ *Over and above those of which accounts had already been laid before that house,*’ by way of amendment to the motion.

Farther objections. But this did not satisfy the gentlemen who were against the motion, and therefore they objected farther, That it was not to be supposed, that any other expences had been incurred than those contained

' tained in the accounts then before them: That  
 ' they could assure gentlemen, that no moneys had  
 ' been issued from the treasury, by virtue of the  
 ' clause they had mentioned, but what were stated  
 ' in the account already laid before the house; nor  
 ' had any expences been incurred, but what were  
 ' contained in the three accounts relating to the sea-  
 ' service, the land service, and the late treaty with  
 ' *Denmark*: That the presenting of such an address  
 ' was really in some manner provoking the crown  
 ' to make farther demands upon them; and that if  
 ' what was then proposed should come to be a pre-  
 ' cedent, it would become necessary for the crown  
 ' to add a certificate to every account to be given in  
 ' hereafter to Parliament, certifying, that *these are*  
 ' *all the expences that have been incurred*, or some  
 ' such words to that purpose, which they thought  
 ' would look a little absurd: That therefore they  
 ' could not agree to the amendment; but when it  
 ' was disagreed to (as they hoped it would) they  
 ' would propose that the following words should  
 ' be added, by way of amendment to the motion  
 ' to wit, *notwithstanding that full accounts of all ex-*  
 ' *pences that had been incurred, had been already laid*  
 ' *before that house*: This, they said, was the most  
 ' natural amendment that could be made to the  
 ' motion, because by the addition of these words it  
 ' would appear in its proper and true light, and in  
 ' that light they were persuaded the house would not  
 ' agree to it.

To this it was answered, ' That they could not Answer.  
 ' but think that the motion, as it stood at first, was  
 ' a very proper motion, because it would be much  
 ' better and more distinct, to have all these expen-  
 ' ces fairly and fully stated, in one account, than to  
 ' have them dispersed in several accounts, and con-  
 ' founded with a great many other articles; and this  
 ' method

‘ method of stating those expences would be attend-  
 ‘ ed with this advantage, that it would clearly shew  
 ‘ to gentlemen, how sparing his Majesty had been  
 ‘ in making use of that unlimited credit given him  
 ‘ by last session, which would be a great inducement  
 ‘ to that house, to renew that credit whenever his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty should please to demand it : This they thought  
 ‘ they had reason to hope the honourable gentlemen  
 ‘ would not have obstructed, because it might per-  
 ‘ haps be of great advantage to them upon some fu-  
 ‘ ture occasion ; but as those gentlemen did not seem  
 ‘ to like that way of stating the account, there-  
 ‘ fore they were willing to make the amendment  
 ‘ proposed to their motion, in order to prevent a  
 ‘ negative’s being put upon a question of such mo-  
 ‘ ment.

‘ That they hoped no expences had been incurred,  
 ‘ in consequence of that vote of confidence and cre-  
 ‘ dit, but what appeared upon the several accounts  
 ‘ then before them ; but it would be a great satis-  
 ‘ faction to the house, to have a direct answer upon  
 ‘ that subject from the crown ; for tho’ they were  
 ‘ persuaded that the gentlemen who had taken upon  
 ‘ them to assure the house, that no other expences  
 ‘ had been incurred, or monies issued, but what were  
 ‘ contained in these accounts, really believed it to be  
 ‘ as they had declared ; yet in such cases that house  
 ‘ was not to take an answer from any member ; were  
 ‘ he the greatest man in the house, or the greatest  
 ‘ subject in the nation, his word or his declaration  
 ‘ was no Parliamentary satisfaction, nor could it be  
 ‘ taken as such.

‘ That with respect to the certificate mentioned,  
 ‘ it was, in the present case, so far from being ab-  
 ‘ surd, that it was absolutely necessary : When cer-  
 ‘ tain sums were granted by Parliament, and those  
 ‘ sums appropriated by Parliament to certain uses,  
 ‘ such a certificate would, ’twas true, be quite un-  
 ‘ necessary, it would be ridiculous to insist upon any  
 ‘ such

such; but when an unlimited credit has been granted by Parliament, and that credit unlimited likewise as to the uses it was to be applied to, it was absolutely necessary to have a certificate in the manner mentioned by the honourable gentlemen, certifying, that such sums, and no more had been taken up upon that vote of credit; and that the sums so taken up had been applied to such uses, and none other; for without such a certificate it would be impossible for that house to know how the accounts of the nation stood; they could not know but every succeeding year might bring in a new demand, to provide for some expence incurred, or some debt contracted, in consequence of the unlimited credit they had formerly given; therefore it was incumbent upon them, as members of that house, to demand such a certificate; they were bound in honour, and in duty to their constituents, to insist upon having such a certificate; and such a certificate could not be had any other way than by presenting the address proposed.

That as to the amendment intended to be added by the worthy gentleman, in order to make their question appear ridiculous upon the journals of that house, it did not at all deter them from insisting upon their question, nor from insisting upon the amendment they had proposed: That they had no cause to suspect, that That house would agree to the amendment intended by the worthy gentleman: But if they had, it would give them no pain; for whatever that house might do, the world without doors would judge rightly, and would fix the ridicule where it properly belonged: But they would, upon that occasion, put the gentleman in mind of what appeared upon their journals: They remembered a certain great man was, in a former Parliament, accused of some very high crimes, and a question was actually moved and seconded

yes nooh fllal of euolupin ed bluw n yals in  
doul

‘ in that house, for a resolution in these terms, *That it appears to this house, that (such a great man, naming him) had been guilty of several heinous and fraudulent practices in, &c.* That this was the question first moved; but the friends of that great man, in order to defeat the question by rendering it ridiculous, proposed, that the words (*it appears to this house*) should, by way of amendment, be left out of the question: That upon a division, the amendment was approved of by a corrupt majority, and that the question so made ridiculous by the amendment, stood to that day upon their journals, as the worthy gentleman might see if he pleased; but that the thus rendering the question ridiculous, was far from rendering ridiculous those who had at first proposed it: On the contrary, the ridicule fell upon those who made the question ridiculous by their amendment; and accordingly, at the elections for the very next Parliament, most of them were neglected by their country, and justly refused the honour of continuing any longer the representatives of the people in that house.’

**Division.** The question being at last put upon the amendment, it was, upon a division, carried in the negative, 167 to 106.

**Speakers.** Both the question and the amendment were proposed by *Samuel Sandys, Esq;* and supported chiefly by *William Pulteney, Esq;* and *Sir William Wyndham.* The chief speakers against both were *Horatio Walpole, Esq;* *Henry Pelham, Esq;* *Sir William Yonge,* *Colonel Bladen,* *Thomas Winnington, Esq;* and *Joseph Darvers, Esq;.*

**Dispute  
about  
order.**

After the division upon this amendment, *Henry Pelham, Esq;* moved to adjourn, which brought on a short debate about order, because it was said, that when a question had been moved, and for some time



time debated, the house was so much in possession of it, that it could not be put off by adjournment, without an unanimous consent: But Mr. Speaker declared, that according to the general opinion, the rule mentioned was to be observed at all times before four o'clock in the afternoon, but after that hour, tho' a question had been for some time debated, it was thought it might be put off by adjournment, without any unanimous consent: Whereupon the question was put for adjourning, which was carried in the affirmative without a division.

ON the same day that this last debate happened in the house of Commons, viz. on the 13th of February, the following petition was presented to the Right Honourable the house of Peers, by his Grace the Duke of Bedford, viz.

Petition  
presented  
by six  
Scottish  
Peers.

*To the Right Honourable the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled: The humble petition of James Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, Charles Duke of Queensbury and Dover, James Duke of Montrose, Thomas Earl of Dundonald, Alexander Earl of Marchmont, and John Earl of Stair,*

*Sheweth,*

THAT at the last election of sixteen Peers, to serve in this Parliament for that part of Great-Britain called Scotland, a majority of votes was obtained for the Duke of Buccleugh, the Duke of Athole, the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Sutherland, the Earl of Moreton, the Earl of Loudon, the Earl of Finlater, the Earl of Silkirk, the Earl of Balcarras, the Earl of Dunmore, the Earl of Orkney, the Earl of Portmore, the Earl of Hopetoun, the Earl of Hay, the Lord Cathcart, and they were accordingly returned,

‘ Your

‘ Your petitioners, however, conceive it their duty to represent to your Lordships, that several undue methods and illegal practices were used towards carrying on this election, and towards engaging Peers to vote for a list of Peers to represent the Peerage of *Scotland*, such as are inconsistent with the freedom of Parliaments, dishonourable to the Peerage, contrary to the design and intention of those laws that direct the election of the sixteen Peers for that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and such as may prove subversive of our happy constitution; instances and proofs whereof we are able to lay before your Lordships, in such manner as your Lordships shall direct.

‘ Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray, that your Lordships will be pleased to take this important affair into your most serious consideration, to allow these instances and proofs to be laid before you, and to do therein as in your great wisdoms shall seem most proper, to maintain the dignity of the Peerage, the freedom of the election of Peers for that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and to preserve the constitution and independency of Parliaments.

*And your Petitioner shall ever pray. S. f.*

Hamilton and Brandon,	Dundonald,
Queensbury and Dover,	Marchmont,
Montrose,	Stair.

First motion upon it.

After this petition was read, his Grace stood up, and moved for a day to take it into consideration; he would not positively fix upon any day, but he would propose that day month, and that their Lordships might order those persons, by whom the petitioners thought they could prove their allegations, to attend against that day: In this motion he was seconded by his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough*.

In

In support of the question, it was argued by the two noble Dukes who made and seconded the motion, in substance as follows, *viz.*

‘ My Lords, I take it to be a constant and a cer- Argument  
tain maxim of this house, never to reject the pe- for it.  
tition of any subject, or of any number of subjects,  
unless upon the very face of the petition there ap-  
pears to be something very frivolous or imperti-  
nent; and upon all the petitions I have observed  
presented to this house, there has always been a  
day assigned, either for an answer, or for the pe-  
titioner to prove his allegations, according to the  
nature of the petition. If it be a petition against  
any particular person or persons, such as petitions  
of appeal, there is then a day appointed for the  
defendants or respondents to answer; and a sum-  
mons is directed of course to be served upon them  
for that end: If the petition be to set forth any  
particular grievances or inconveniences the peti-  
tioner labours under, and from which he desires the  
aid of this house, to be relieved, such as petitions  
for private bills; the petitioner has, in such cases, a  
day to prove the allegations of his petition, and  
for that end he has of course the aid of this house  
for summoning those persons to attend, by whom  
he thinks he can prove what he has in his petition  
set forth: If it be a petition complaining of pub-  
lic grievances, in order to obtain a public law for  
the redress of those grievances, the petitioner, or  
petitioners have then a day assigned, for proving  
their allegation, and they have of course the  
summons, or order of this house, commanding  
those persons to attend, by whom they think they  
may prove the facts or the grievances com-  
plained of.

‘ Of this last sort I take the petition to be, which  
I have now had the honour to present to your  
Lordships; and never was there, I believe, a pe-  
tition

' petition presented to this house, of greater conse-  
 ' quence as to the subject matter complained of, or  
 ' as to the quality of the petitioners. The complaint,  
 ' my Lords, is of the highest nature imaginable:  
 ' It is a complaint that nearly concerns both the ho-  
 ' nour and the dignity, nay, I may say, the very  
 ' being of this house; because, if there be good  
 ' ground for the complaint, the constitution of this  
 ' kingdom cannot subsist, the liberties of our coun-  
 ' try cannot long endure, if the grievances complain-  
 ' ed of be not fully and speedily redressed. Then  
 ' as to the petitioners, let us consider, my Lords,  
 ' who they are: They are men of as high rank as  
 ' any subjects in the kingdom; they are noblemen  
 ' of equal quality with ourselves in every respect,  
 ' except as to seats in this house; and that they have  
 ' perhaps been deprived of, by the evil practices  
 ' of which they complain: But this they do not in-  
 ' sist on; they do not come here to complain of any  
 ' particular injury done to themselves; it is their  
 ' regard for the public weal, their regard for the ho-  
 ' nour of this house, that has prevailed on them to  
 ' become petitioners to your Lordships.

' I shall not pretend, my Lords, to say, that the  
 ' facts complained of are true; That your Lordships  
 ' are to determine, after a full and a strict inquiry;  
 ' but I am sure there is nothing frivolous or imperti-  
 ' nent appears upon the face of the petition; and if  
 ' we may judge from the characters, as well as qua-  
 ' lity of the petitioners; if we may judge from com-  
 ' mon fame and public report; nay, if we may  
 ' judge from some occurrences, not a great many  
 ' years ago, there is reason to believe their com-  
 ' plaint is but too well grounded. All the petition-  
 ' ers we know; some of them have had the honour  
 ' to sit in this house; and while they sat here, their  
 ' behaviour was such, that I am persuaded none of  
 ' your Lordships will think, that they would allow  
 ' themselves to be imposed on by ridiculous reports,

or

‘ or slight surmises. I cannot therefore, in the  
 ‘ least, suspect, that the petition I have had the  
 ‘ honour to present will be rejected; and for this  
 ‘ reason, I think, the only proper motion I can  
 ‘ make, is, to appoint a day, &c.’ (as above-men-  
 tioned.)

Lord *Onslow*. ‘ My Lords, though it has always Lord  
 ‘ been the practice of this house, to receive petitions *Onslow’s*  
 ‘ from any subject, which did not in themselves ap- *speech.*  
 ‘ pear frivolous or impertinent; yet the petition now  
 ‘ presented to us is, in my opinion, of such an ex-  
 ‘ traordinary nature, that it deserves the most ma-  
 ‘ ture deliberation: It is a petition by which several  
 ‘ Lords, who are members of this house, are charg-  
 ‘ ed with illegal practices; and as such a charge  
 ‘ must throw a very great scandal upon them, I  
 ‘ therefore think your Lordships ought well to con-  
 ‘ sider, before you resolve to give it so much coun-  
 ‘ tenance, as to appoint a day for taking it into con-  
 ‘ sideration.’

Upon this the Lord Chancellor rose up, and ac-  
 quainted the house, ‘ That the petition did not charge  
 ‘ any Lord in that house with undue or illegal prac-  
 ‘ tices: It contained only a general charge, that some  
 ‘ such practices had been made use of, at the last  
 ‘ election of sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, but did not  
 ‘ say by whom.’

The Earl of *Cholmondeley*. ‘ Though the petition Earl of  
 ‘ now before us, does not charge any Lord in par- *Cholmon-*  
 ‘ ticular with any undue practices; yet it must be *deley’s*  
 ‘ granted, that, in its consequences, it will affect a *speech.*  
 ‘ good many Lords of this house; for it expressly  
 ‘ charges, that no less than sixteen Lords of this  
 ‘ house were chosen by such practices, and have  
 ‘ thereby got seats in this house; so that by the  
 ‘ consequences of this petition, every one of those  
 ‘ sixteen



‘ sixteen may come to lose the seats they have now  
 ‘ the honour to have in this house : For this reason  
 ‘ therefore, my Lords, as well as on account of its  
 ‘ being a petition of a very new and a very extraor-  
 ‘ dinary nature, I think your Lordships ought to take  
 ‘ some time to consider of it, before you order any  
 ‘ person to attend, on account of the matter contain-  
 ‘ ed in the petition.’

Duke of  
*New-*  
*castle's*  
 speech  
 and  
 motion.

The Duke of *Newcastle*. ‘ My Lords, the peti-  
 ‘ tion now presented to us, is so new in its kind,  
 ‘ that I really do not know whether we ought to re-  
 ‘ ceive it ; nay, I do not know if we have a power  
 ‘ to receive it. There was, indeed, since the union,  
 ‘ one petition presented to this house, complaining  
 ‘ of an undue election and return, of one of the six-  
 ‘ teen Peers for *Scotland* ; and this house did accord-  
 ‘ ingly proceed upon the petition, and did deter-  
 ‘ mine the right of election : But in the petition now  
 ‘ before us, there is no direct complaint, either a-  
 ‘ gainst the election or the return of all or any one  
 ‘ of the sixteen Peers last chosen for *Scotland* ; and  
 ‘ therefore I cannot, at present, pretend to give my  
 ‘ opinion, how we can proceed upon it. As I have  
 ‘ not the journal now before me, which contains the  
 ‘ proceedings of this house, upon the last petition  
 ‘ from *Scotland*, I cannot tell what method was then  
 ‘ observed ; but if I had, I doubt much if it could  
 ‘ be of any use, because of this petition's being very  
 ‘ widely different from the former : Therefore, my  
 ‘ Lords, I must think, that the most prudent me-  
 ‘ thod for us to take, is, to appoint a short day, as  
 ‘ short as you will, to consider of what is proper to  
 ‘ be done, before you appoint a day, either for en-  
 ‘ tering into the merits of the petition, or for exa-  
 ‘ mining any witnesses, in relation to the facts there-  
 ‘ in complained of. For this reason, I shall move  
 ‘ your Lordships to resolve, to take this petition into  
 ‘ your consideration on this day se'nnight.’

To

To this it was answered by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, Earl of  
 and after him the Lord *Bathurst*, ' That as to the *Chester-*  
 ' petition's being, in its nature, something new and *field, and*  
 ' extraordinary, it was not at all to be wondered at *Lord Ba-*  
 ' because the facts complained of, were such as could *thurst's*  
 ' be committed only since the union of the two king- *speeches*  
 ' doms. Whether any such practices had been used  
 ' since that time, and before the present, they would  
 ' not take upon them to determine; but if ever any  
 ' such had been used, no man before had public  
 ' spirit enough to complain of them; and therefore  
 ' they were the more obliged to the noble Peers who  
 ' had now given themselves that trouble. That to  
 ' them it seemed very extraordinary to question,  
 ' whether that house had a power to examine into  
 ' any grievances that could be complained of by any  
 ' subject? But it appeared still more extraordinary  
 ' to make such a question, when the complaint was  
 ' made by some of their own number, and in rela-  
 ' tion to an affair; in which the honour and dignity  
 ' of that house was chiefly and primarily concerned:  
 ' That for this reason it was not to be doubted, but  
 ' that they had not only a power, but that it was  
 ' their duty, to inquire into the matters complained  
 ' of, and to sift them to the bottom; and they hop-  
 ' ed no regards nor pretences would prevent their  
 ' doing so. However, they would in general, a-  
 ' gree with the noble Duke, as to the first appoint-  
 ' ing a short day; for they did not doubt, but that  
 ' the more the affair was considered, the more every  
 ' Lord in that house would think himself bound,  
 ' both in honour and duty, to inquire into it: But  
 ' they thought the resolution ought to be put in  
 ' words, different from what the noble Duke had  
 ' been pleased to propose; and therefore they thought  
 ' the motion ought to be, That they would, upon  
 ' that day se'nnight take in to consideration, the me-  
 ' thods how to proceed upon the petition then pre-  
 ' sented to them.

Lord Chan-  
cellor's  
speech.

The Lord Chancellor. ' As to the power or du-  
' ty of this house, in relation to the petition now be-  
' fore us, I cannot really, upon so short a delibera-  
' tion, freely declare my opinion; and as there are  
' some other Lords, who seem to be in great doubt  
' about this question, I must think the motion made  
' by the noble Duke near me, the most proper, be-  
' cause of its being the most general; and as it does  
' not determine the question one way or other, I  
' cannot but think it quite unnecessary to make any  
' dispute about it, therefore I hope your Lordships  
' will agree to it.

Upon this the question proposed by the Duke of  
*Newcastle* was agreed to without any division; and  
it was accordingly resolved, That that house would,  
upon that day se'nnight, take the petition into their  
consideration: After which it was ordered, that  
the Lords should be summoned to attend upon that  
day.

Motion  
for aug-  
menting  
the army.

ON *Friday* the 14th day of *February*, the house  
of Commons (according to order) resolved it-  
self into a committee of the whole house, to consider  
farther of the supply granted to his Majesty, and it  
being then moved that the committee should resolve  
*That the number of effective men to be provided for*  
*guards and garrisons in Great Britain, and for Guern-*  
*sey and Jersey, for the year 1735, should be (includ-*  
*ing 1815 invalids, and 555 men, which the six inde-*  
*pendent companies consist of, for the service of the High-*  
*lands) 25,744 men, commission and non-commission of-*  
*ficers included.* A debate thereupon ensued, in which  
the principal arguments for the motion were in sub-  
stance thus.

Argument  
for it.

' Sir, though we are not, as yet, any way engag-  
' ed in the present war, yet such events may hap-  
' pen, as may make it absolutely necessary for us to  
' engage

engage, either on the one side or the other. The affair of *Poland*, which is the only motive, the only bone of contention, hitherto publicly avowed, is an affair with which this nation has but very little to do; but if that should appear not to be the real motive, or if success should encourage either side to extend their views, and to push their conquests, the balance of power may, at last, be brought into real danger; and then, for the sake of preserving the liberties of *Europe*, upon which the liberties of this nation will always depend, we must take a share, a principal share in the war. This is the danger we are exposed to at present, and it may not perhaps, be so remote as some people pretend to imagine: This is what has made his Majesty become a sort of mediator, for restoring the peace of *Europe*, and for reconciling the contending powers, before success of either side, shall have encouraged them to extend their views so far, as to take away all hopes of succeeding in that way; and his Majesty has already pushed his negotiations with so much vigour, that a plan of peace will soon be offered to all the parties concerned; a plan so reasonable, and so well adapted to the honour and interest of all the parties concerned, that whoever refuses to hearken to it, will thereby make it manifest, that their secret views are much more extensive than any they have hitherto openly declared.

From hence, Sir, I must conclude, that we shall be very soon able to determine, whether we must engage in the war or not: If that plan be accepted, if both parties appear willing to agree to reasonable terms, then we shall attain our ends; the peace of *Europe* will be restored, the balance of power will be preserved, without our engaging in the war, without subjecting this nation to any inconvenience, or to any great expence; but if reasonable terms should be haughtily rejected by ei-

‘ ther side, what will the consequence be ? We must  
‘ then necessarily take a share in the war, and that  
‘ speedily, least the weaker side should be quite over-  
‘ whelmed : It is therefore very much our interest,  
‘ at present, to take every measure that may con-  
‘ tribute towards rendering his Majesty’s endeavours,  
‘ successful ; that may contribute towards inducing  
‘ or even compelling, every one of the contending  
‘ powers to accept of that plan, which his Majesty  
‘ in conjunction with his allies, is to offer to them ;  
‘ and, in my opinion, nothing can contribute more  
‘ towards these great ends, than our having such a  
‘ standing regular force, as may convince all the  
‘ parties concerned, that we are in earnest, and that  
‘ we have it in our power to alter the scale when-  
‘ ever we have a mind ; for this reason I can hardly  
‘ imagine, that any gentleman in this house will op-  
‘ pose the small augmentation of our land forces now  
‘ proposed, when he considers how small an expence  
‘ it will be to the nation, and how many millions  
‘ we may be obliged to expend, if, by refusing such  
‘ a seasonable expence, we should at last make it ne-  
‘ cessary to involve ourselves in a heavy and expen-  
‘ sive war.

‘ The prosperity of this nation, Sir, or at least  
‘ our security, depends, upon the tranquility of our  
‘ neighbours : While they are at peace, while they  
‘ are living in plenty and ease, they will always con-  
‘ sume more of our manufactures, and all the other  
‘ conveniences of life, than when they are involved  
‘ in blood and confusion ; and consequently we shall  
‘ always have, in times of peace, a greater demand  
‘ for the manufactures and produce of our country  
‘ than in time of war. Besides, while they continue  
‘ at peace, the balance of power can be in no dan-  
‘ ger, but the events of war no man, no nation can  
‘ depend on ; and therefore every one, and this na-  
‘ tion among the rest, may be deeply affected by  
‘ the extraordinary success, or the rapid conquests of  
‘ any



‘ any one power in *Europe*. Let us not, therefore,  
 ‘ grudge a small expence, when it may evidently  
 ‘ contribute towards restoring peace and tranquility  
 ‘ among our neighbours, upon which our own prof-  
 ‘ perity and security does and must always depend.

‘ Our house is not, ’tis true, as yet on fire, but  
 ‘ our neighbour’s is all in a flame; and when our  
 ‘ neighbour’s house is in flames, it is time for us to  
 ‘ prepare the engines which are necessary for preserv-  
 ‘ ing our own. The proper engines for preserv-  
 ‘ ing this nation from those flames of war, which  
 ‘ are now blazing in *Europe*, are a powerful fleet,  
 ‘ and a sufficient body of regular well-disciplined  
 ‘ troops, ready to march at the first word of com-  
 ‘ mand, in order to extinguish those flames, which  
 ‘ may at last approach us too near, or may become  
 ‘ so fierce as to endanger our being involved. This,  
 ‘ Sir, will give weight to his Majesty’s negotiations,  
 ‘ it will make all the parties concerned give a due  
 ‘ attention to what may be proposed by his majesty’s  
 ‘ ministers, for restoring the peace of *Europe*; for  
 ‘ a minister, whose equipage consists of a large  
 ‘ body of good troops, will always be better  
 ‘ hearkened to, than one whose equipage consists  
 ‘ only of a great number of fine pages and useless  
 ‘ footmen.

‘ From agreeing to the augmentation proposed,  
 ‘ we may therefore expect, Sir, that the parties now  
 ‘ at war will be prevented from forming any ambi-  
 ‘ tious views, either against this nation or against the  
 ‘ balance of power; and if any such views have al-  
 ‘ ready been formed, the projectors will find them-  
 ‘ selves under a necessity of laying them aside; by  
 ‘ which means we shall be able to restore the peace  
 ‘ of *Europe*, and establish the future security of this  
 ‘ nation, without exposing ourselves to the inconve-  
 ‘ niences, the misfortunes, and the doubtful events  
 ‘ of war, and without putting ourselves to any far-  
 ‘ ther expence: From a contrary behaviour, let

' us consider what we are to expect : Will not *France*  
 ' and her allies from thence conclude, that they may  
 ' go on and conquer ; that they may place upon the  
 ' imperial throne, a Prince of the house of *Bour-*  
 ' *bon*, and that *England* is not now as formerly, ap-  
 ' prehensive of the growing power of *France*, or  
 ' concerned about the preservation of a balance of  
 ' power in *Europe* : These are conclusions, which I  
 ' am sure, no *Englishman* ought to give them an op-  
 ' portunity to make ; for the continuance of the  
 ' war, is a certain consequence of such conclusions ;  
 ' and if it should continue, we must engage in it, or  
 ' we as well as the rest of *Europe*, must submit to  
 ' be slaves to the conqueror. Thus the danger of  
 ' not agreeing to what is proposed, is infinitely great ;  
 ' in agreeing to it, there is no danger, and the ex-  
 ' pence is inconsiderable ; it is not only inconsider-  
 ' able, but likewise, take it in what light you please,  
 ' it will be useful, if it has the wished for effect, if  
 ' it procures a re-establishment of the public tran-  
 ' quility, the usefulness of it must be acknowledged  
 ' by all ; but if it should fail of the effect desired,  
 ' it will still be of great use, because it will enable us  
 ' to join speedily and with vigour in the war.

' To me, Sir, it is evident, that the small expence  
 ' now proposed, may prevent an infinite expence  
 ' and an infinite danger ; and therefore I must think  
 ' we are at present something in the case of a gen-  
 ' tleman (suppose in the isle of *Ely*) whose estate is  
 ' in great danger of being overflowed, by the decay  
 ' of, or some breach in, those dykes and mounds,  
 ' which were made to prevent inundations : In  
 ' such a case, suppose the gentleman's stewards and  
 ' managers, should come to him and tell him of his  
 ' danger, and that the dykes might then be repaired  
 ' for a small expence, but that one flood or two  
 ' might make such a breach, as would cost him near  
 ' the value of his estate to repair : Would not that  
 ' gentleman be very much in the wrong, would he  
 ' not

‘ not be mad, not to hearken to such representations, and put himself to a small immediate charge, in order to prevent the intire ruin of his estate?

‘ Our present case, Sir is the very same; one successful campaign, two or three complete victories would not only involve us necessarily in the war, but would make such a breach in those barriers, by which the liberties of *Europe* are preserved, as would cost an infinite treasure, and a vast effusion of blood before it could be made up. This is a danger, which is apparent from those general circumstances which are publicly known; but there may be particular private transactions concerted, or now carrying on, which would demonstrate the necessity of what is now proposed: These his Majesty may probably have discovered; and from the experience we have of his Majesty’s great regard for the ease of his people, we may, I think, conclude, that he would not have proposed to have made any augmentation of his land forces, or to have put his subjects to any additional charge, without an evident necessity for so doing: I hope, therefore, gentlemen will depend upon his Majesty’s wisdom and conduct, in an affair, which is of such a nature, as may render it impossible for his Majesty, to lay his particular reasons before this house, without running the risk of disappointing all the measures he has concerted, for defeating any ambitious projects that may have been formed, and for restoring the peace of *Europe*, and thereby preventing this nation’s being obliged to engage in the war.

To this it was answered, in substance as follows,  
*viz.*

‘ Sir, I wish gentlemen would be more cautious Answer.  
‘ of bringing his Majesty’s name, into every debate

' that happens in this house. I am persuaded, no  
 ' gentleman in this house doubts of his Majesty's  
 ' sincere regard for the ease of his people, or of his  
 ' wisdom and conduct, in all matters which are ho-  
 ' nestly and fairly laid before him: These are ques-  
 ' tions which can never be properly brought before us.  
 ' Upon this occasion, as well as upon all other oc-  
 ' casions of the same nature, it is not his Majesty's  
 ' regard for the ease of his people, but the regard  
 ' his ministers have for the ease of the people, that  
 ' we are to consider; it is their wisdom and conduct  
 ' that are now under our consideration; and, in my  
 ' opinion, this house has no great reason to depend  
 ' much upon either: I am sure the generality of the  
 ' nation, have no great confidence in either; and  
 ' therefore, if we speak the language of our consti-  
 ' tuents, which I hope will always be the language  
 ' of this house, we cannot depend so much upon  
 ' their wisdom and conduct, as to load the people  
 ' with any additional expence, for no other reason,  
 ' but only because the minister has told us it is ne-  
 ' cessary. This is a method of proceeding, which  
 ' no man ought to agree to in any case, but especial-  
 ' ly in a case, which is of the most dangerous con-  
 ' sequence to the liberties of our country.

' The honourable gentleman, Sir, was very much  
 ' in the right to argue from general circumstances,  
 ' and such as are publicly known; for particular care  
 ' has been taken, that we should not have any thing  
 ' else to argue from: But if we argue only from  
 ' such circumstances, we must conclude, that we are  
 ' neither concerned in the war, nor can be concerned  
 ' in its event: If we have nothing to do with the  
 ' affair of *Poland*, if we are no way engaged to pro-  
 ' tect the Emperor's dominions in *Italy*, surely we  
 ' have no concern in the war; and as to the event,  
 ' *France* has declared, they will not pretend to keep  
 ' any of the conquests they make; they have de-  
 ' clared they have no intention to make any con-  
 ' quests,

‘quests, or to extend their dominions; but that their  
‘only aim is to establish *Stanislaus* upon the throne  
‘of *Poland*; and the other two allies have declared,  
‘that they have no other view but to establish and  
‘preserve the neutrality of *Italy*: These are the  
‘only circumstances that are publicly known, and  
‘from these, neither this nation, nor the balance of  
‘power can be in any danger.

‘What particular reasons we may have, not to  
‘trust to those declarations, I shall not pretend to  
‘determine; but all the other Princes and States of  
‘*Europe*, not already engaged in the war, seem to  
‘put their trust in them, because none of them have  
‘as yet put themselves to any expence, or made any  
‘preparations: Nay, even the Princes of *Germany*  
‘seem to think their country in no danger; for some  
‘of the chief of them, still continue neutral; and  
‘those who have joined in the declaration of war,  
‘have great number of troops unemployed, which  
‘certainly would be all sent to the *Rhine*, if they  
‘thought their country were in any real danger of  
‘being conquered, or that *France* had a design to  
‘impose an Emperor upon them: While they re-  
‘main so secure, while they give themselves so little  
‘concern about the event of the war, why we should  
‘be so terribly frightened, why we should imagine,  
‘that *France* has a design to conquer *Germany*, and  
‘to place one of the house of *Bourbon* upon the im-  
‘perial throne, I cannot comprehend: I am sure no  
‘such intention can be presumed, from any circum-  
‘stance yet publicly known; and I hope we do not  
‘think, that either *Spain* or *Sardinia* has a mind to  
‘conquer *Germany*, or that *France* would allow them,  
‘if either or both were able, to accomplish such a  
‘design. From public circumstances, therefore, I  
‘can see no reason we have now, or indeed ever  
‘had, to put ourselves to any charge, or to make  
‘any preparations; and if there be any private rea-  
‘sons, they must be such, I should think, as concern

‘ us



us in particular, because if they related to the balance of power, and consequently to *Europe* in general; the other courts of *Europe*, particularly the *Dutch*, would certainly have discovered them as well as we; nay, if they had not, it would have been the duty of our ministers to have discovered them, not only to the *Dutch*, but to all the Princes of *Europe*; for whatever danger there might be, in discovering them to this house, there could not surely be any danger in discovering them to those courts, which have as deep a concern as we have in the preservation of the liberties of *Europe*.

As no part of our late transactions has ever been laid before this house; as all such lights have been denied us, I do not know, Sir, but there may be private reasons for our being particularly concerned in in the event of the present war: If there are any such, they must proceed from some of our late transactions; and in that case, those transactions ought to have been laid before this house, at the very beginning of the war, that we might from them have seen our danger, and might have provided for our safety in time. But to insinuate, that either of the parties now engaged in war, may have ambitious views against the liberties of *Europe*, is an insinuation that is contracted by the behaviour of all the Princes and States of *Europe*, not already engaged in the war; and is therefore an insinuation that cannot, in my opinion, have any weight, much less such a weight, as to prevail with any member of this house, to load his constituents with an additional charge, or to subject the liberties of his country to an additional danger.

We are next told, Sir, that tho' neither party may at present have any ambitious view, yet they may form such views; and in order to prevent their forming any such, we must put ourselves to a great expence, we must make great preparations; this will shew them we are in earnest, and will  
make

' make them give ear to the reasonable plan of  
' peace, his Majesty in conjunction with his allies,  
' is to offer: Whereas, if we make no such prepa-  
' rations, *France* will conclude, we have lost all ap-  
' prehensions of the growing power of that king-  
' dom, and that we have no concern for the prefer-  
' vation of the balance of power. For God's sake,  
' Sir, can gentlemen be serious, when they argue at  
' this rate? Can *France* or any power on earth,  
' imagine that we will look tamely on, and see the  
' liberties of *Europe* overturned; or can the addition  
' of 7 or 8000 men to our army, add any thing to  
' their dread of our power? They all know, and  
' *France* in particular, has reason to know, the  
' strength and the power of this nation, when wisely  
' managed and prudently exerted; if therefore they  
' form any ambitious views, if they reject the just  
' terms of peace, that are to be proposed by his Ma-  
' jesty, or if they despise the mediation that has been  
' offered, it cannot proceed from any contempt they  
' have of the real strength of this nation, but from  
' a contempt of the councils, by which that strength  
' is to be exerted: This is a contempt which, I am  
' afraid, they have already conceived; and if we  
' should agree to the proposition now before us,  
' without seeing any reason for so doing, I am sure  
' either the wisdom or the integrity of this house  
' will suffer considerably, in the opinion of the world  
' both abroad and at home.

' Another terrible thing we are this day taught to  
' apprehend, is, that success may inspire one of the  
' parties engaged in war, with an ambitious view of  
' overturning the balance of power: That two or three  
' complete victories, may make it absolutely neces-  
' sary for us to engage immediately in the war; and  
' that therefore, we ought to prepare in time, that  
' we may be ready to fly to the relief of the unfor-  
' tunate, before they are quite overwhelmed: Upon  
' this, Sir, I shall only ask, if any gentleman in this  
' house

' house can imagine, that *Germany*, *Poland* and *Mus-*  
 ' *covy*, (for I think I may now say they are united)  
 ' can be conquereed in one campaign ; or, supposing  
 ' the other to be the unfortunate side, can they ima-  
 ' gine that *France*, *Spain* and *Italy* can be conquered  
 ' in one campaign. If any gentleman can imagine  
 ' such a thing, with him I shall not pretend to argue ;  
 ' but with those who cannot, which I believe is the  
 ' majority of this house, I think I may contend,  
 ' that neither side can in one campaign be reduced  
 ' so low, but that the united force of *Britain*, *Hol-*  
 ' *land*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, thrown in early the  
 ' next campaign, will be sufficient for their relief,  
 ' and for obliging the proudest conqueror, to submit  
 ' to reasonable terms ; in which case, we shall have  
 ' the whole winter to prepare, and till then it is cer-  
 ' tainly quite unnecessary for us to put ourselves to  
 ' any expence.

' As this day seems to be a day of paradoxes, a-  
 ' mong the rest, we have been told one with respect  
 ' to our trade. We are told, Sir, that the prosper-  
 ' ity of this nation depends upon the tranquility of  
 ' our neighbours ; and that in times of peace, there  
 ' is always a greater demand for the manufactures  
 ' and produce of this country than in time of war.  
 ' This, Sir, is so far from being a just maxim in  
 ' trade, that the direct contrary is true. The chief  
 ' part of the produce of this country, consists in the  
 ' necessaries, and not the luxuries of life ; and conse-  
 ' quently our neighbours will always consume as  
 ' much of such sort of things in time of war as in  
 ' time of peace ; but the difference is, that when  
 ' their heads are not distracted, nor their hands di-  
 ' verted, by any foreign or domestic war, they have  
 ' time to apply themselves to tillage ; they have time  
 ' to apply themselves to manufactures of all kinds ;  
 ' they have leisure to think of, and to improve all  
 ' the arts of peace, and by so doing, they furnish  
 ' themselves at home, with a great many of those  
 ' neces-

' necessities, which in time of war, they are obliged  
 ' to purchase of us. This is not only evident in  
 ' theory, but it is confirmed by experience; for our  
 ' trade has suffered more by the domestic improve-  
 ' ments made by our neighbours, during this last  
 ' long tranquility in *Europe*, than it has done by any  
 ' other means, except the heavy duties we have laid  
 ' upon ourselves, and the great trouble and many  
 ' fees and perquisites we have subjected our mer-  
 ' chants to, both in importing and exporting their  
 ' goods and merchandize; which incumbrances will,  
 ' in time, most certainly ruin every branch of our  
 ' trade, if we do not take care to remove them  
 ' speedily, by paying off those debts, by which they  
 ' have been occasioned. And as to our security, it  
 ' can never be disturbed by any broils among our  
 ' neighbours, unless the balance of power should be  
 ' brought into real danger; which our neighbours  
 ' upon the continent, would take better care of than  
 ' they do, if we did not upon all occasions, shew  
 ' ourselves so mighty officious as to do it for them.

' It is an easy matter, Sir, for any man who has a  
 ' quick invention, and a strong imagination, to form  
 ' imaginary dangers, and to frighten fools with  
 ' phantoms. In time of peace we are frightened  
 ' with invasions, because our neighbours have their  
 ' troops quartered upon their coasts, and have nothing  
 ' else to do with them: In time of war, we are  
 ' frightened with invasions, because our neighbours  
 ' have great armies in the field, tho' no power in  
 ' *Europe* has any quarrel with us: In time of peace,  
 ' we must keep a more numerous army than is  
 ' consistent with the liberties of a free people, in or-  
 ' der to prevent a war's breaking out: In time of  
 ' war, we must add to that army, and put ourselves  
 ' to great expence, in order to restore the public tran-  
 ' quility, and preserve the balance of power, tho'  
 ' no other nation in *Europe*, appears to be in the least  
 ' apprehensive of its being in danger. Thus, Sir,

' we

' we are always in a fright, and, for what I know,  
 ' our apprehensions may at last become so extrava-  
 ' gant, that if *Angria*, the *East-India* pirate, should  
 ' fit out any greater number of grabs than usual, we  
 ' must fit out a squadron and augment our land  
 ' forces, for fear of his coming to make an invasion  
 ' upon us. By this, Sir, I do not mean to insinu-  
 ' ate, that we are now in no danger; I do not  
 ' know but we may: But whatever danger we may  
 ' be in, I am very sure it does not appear from any  
 ' circumstances yet publicly known, nor from any  
 ' thing that has as yet been communicated to this  
 ' house, and therefore I cannot agree to load the  
 ' people with any new charge: If the danger is such  
 ' as cannot be immediately communicated, it must  
 ' be such as cannot be immediately apprehended;  
 ' and if we are only like to be in danger, we ought  
 ' to follow the example of our wise neighbours the  
 ' *Dutch*, in putting our people to no expence, and  
 ' in reserving our whole strength to be vigorously  
 ' exerted, against those whose future designs shall seem  
 ' any way to threaten the safety of *Europe*.

' We have been told, Sir, that the danger of not  
 ' agreeing to what is proposed is infinitely great;  
 ' but that in agreeing to it there is no danger; Sir,  
 ' in my opinion, it is directly otherwise. I shall  
 ' first consider it with respect to our foreign affairs.  
 ' It is certain, that the regard we are to expect from  
 ' foreigners must always depend upon the esteem  
 ' they have of the strength of the nation, and of the  
 ' wisdom of those councils by which that strength  
 ' is to be directed. The strength of the nation does  
 ' not surely consist only in the troops we have on  
 ' foot, or the squadrons we have at sea, but upon  
 ' the number of troops we are able to raise and main-  
 ' tain, and the squadrons we are able to put to sea;  
 ' therefore it is certain, that the adding seven or eight  
 ' thousand men to our land forces, or the squadrons  
 ' we have already fitted out, can add nothing to the  
 ' opinion



' opinion foreigners have of our strength ; this they  
 ' all know we could do whenever we had a mind,  
 ' and they know we can do much more when we  
 ' find ourselves justly provoked ; but the putting  
 ' ourselves to such extravagant, such needless ex-  
 ' pence, when no man can say that we are in any  
 ' real and immediate danger, when no man can say  
 ' we have received any just provocation, will cer-  
 ' tainly give foreigners a very mean opinion of our  
 ' councils ; and strength without wisdom is general-  
 ' ly misapplied, and is always contemned ; so that  
 ' if any thing disappoints his Majesty's endeavours  
 ' for restoring the tranquility of *Europe*, if any thing  
 ' makes his mediation contemned, it will be our a-  
 ' greeing to the proposition now before us : I shall  
 ' add to this, Sir, that the armaments we have made,  
 ' and are still making, can oblige neither of the  
 ' sides engaged in war, but may probably give great  
 ' offence to one or the other, by which we may  
 ' draw a war upon ourselves ; our armaments may  
 ' very probably unite several of the powers of *Eu-  
 ' rope* against us, while by the inaction of those ar-  
 ' maments we may be deprived of every ally ;  
 ' therefore, with respect to our foreign affairs, the  
 ' danger of agreeing to what is proposed, is infinite-  
 ' ly great ; in not agreeing to it, there is, there can  
 ' be no danger.

' But, Sir, with regard to our domestic affairs  
 ' the danger is more apparent, and much more ter-  
 ' rible. The keeping up a numerous standing ar-  
 ' my in time of peace, or the keeping of such an ar-  
 ' my in this island, even in time of war, is absolute-  
 ' ly inconsistent with the liberties of this nation.  
 ' The gentlemen, or at least some of them, who  
 ' support this motion, talk of an army of 18,000  
 ' men as always necessary to be kept up within this  
 ' island, in time of peace as well as in time of war.  
 ' This, Sir, is the true secret of this day's motion ;  
 ' those gentlemen know, that when peace is restor-  
 ' ed,

' red, the nation will insist upon a reduction's being  
 ' made in the army, therefore, think they, let us  
 ' now increase the army, that when peace is resto-  
 ' red, we may stop the mouths of the disaffected (as  
 ' they call them) by making a reduction of the  
 ' troops we are now to add: And thus, Sir, we shall  
 ' have a standing army of 18,000 men saddled up-  
 ' on us for ever. As I am of opinion, that an ar-  
 ' my of 18,000 men, is at least 10,000 more than  
 ' we ought to have in time of peace; as I am of o-  
 ' pinion that such a numerous army, all under the  
 ' absolute and arbitrary will of the prime minister,  
 ' for the time being, can be necessary for no end but  
 ' that of enabling the minister to trample upon the  
 ' liberties of his country; therefore I think, with re-  
 ' spect to our domestic affairs, the danger of agree-  
 ' ing to what is proposed is infinitely great; and that  
 ' in rejecting it with disdain, as it ought to be, there  
 ' is no danger.

' Whether our house be on fire or not, is what no  
 ' man can tell, from any thing that has been com-  
 ' municated to us, or from any thing he can know  
 ' as a member of this house; but this I am sure of,  
 ' that whether our house be on fire or not, the en-  
 ' gine-keepers, and those, who are by them to get  
 ' either riches or power to themselves, will always  
 ' endeavour if they can, to persuade us, that our  
 ' house is in danger; where there is no fire in the  
 ' neighbourhood, they will tell us, we ought to pay  
 ' them for their engines, in order to have them rea-  
 ' dy to march at the first word of command, because  
 ' a fire may suddenly break forth; and when there  
 ' is a fire in the neighbourhood, they will then tell  
 ' us we must have their engines, because, tho' the fire  
 ' be then at a great distance, it may at last approach  
 ' too near, so as not to give time to send for the  
 ' engines; therefore when the people's money is to  
 ' be disposed of, I hope this house will always de-  
 ' pend

pend upon their own judgment, and not upon the advice of those who have the direction of any engine. As for ministers, they must expect regard and esteem, not from their equipage, but from the wisdom and address of their negotiations; for a minister with a blundering head, or one that is sent upon ridiculous errands, will make as sorry a figure with an equipage of regular troops, as he ever did or can do with fine cloaths, and an equipage of gaudy pages and useless footmen; and I am afraid the ass's ears will appear much more conspicuous under a well-burnished head-piece, than ever they did under a well-powdered peruke.

The other parallel, Sir, that has been drawn, is very much to the present purpose, if it had been properly related. We are in the very case of a gentleman who is told by his steward, and the workman employed by that steward, that his estate is in great danger of being overflowed by the decay of, or some breach in those dykes and mounds, which, as they say, were made to prevent inundations: The gentleman is surpris'd at this, knowing that there were never any dykes or mounds made upon his estate for preventing inundations, but what were made by nature; that his estate could not be overflowed without some artificial inlets made, or even windmills or fire-engines, prepared and set up for that purpose: He answers, gentlemen, you really surpris'd me, I can hardly believe there is a possibility in what you relate; however, I'll go along with you, and examine every part of my estate, and will then take such measures as may be proper for preventing the danger; Upon this the steward and his workmen are in a fright, they know that the inlets were made, or the windmills set up, either by themselves, or by some of their master's neighbours, with their connivance; and therefore they reply, O Lord,

‘ Sir! you must not examine into particulars, the  
‘ breaches are of such a nature, that if you but look  
‘ upon them, they will become irreparable; give us  
‘ but a small sum of money, and an order for such  
‘ of your tenants as we shall name, to attend  
‘ and assist us, we can now easily make up the  
‘ breach, but if you delay, or offer to examine  
‘ into it, the reparation will cost you more  
‘ then the value of your estate: If such a gentle-  
‘ man should comply blindly with such a demand, I  
‘ am sure, Sir, it must be granted, that if he was  
‘ not mad he was very much under the management  
‘ of his steward.

‘ Now, Sir, that I have set the paralllers mention-  
‘ ed by the other side, in their true light, give me  
‘ leave to draw one of my own, which I think very  
‘ apposite to the case before us, considering that the  
‘ motion so visibly tends to the keeping up of a  
‘ great standing army, even in time of the most pro-  
‘ found tranquility: Suppose a country gentleman  
‘ took into his head a whim to keep a lion in his  
‘ house, for no other end but to please and divert  
‘ the spectators; suppose his neighbours, his friends,  
‘ nay, even his own children, should represent to  
‘ him, that it was very dangerous to keep such a  
‘ fierce animal in his house; that while it was young  
‘ it might continue harmless, and might now and  
‘ then play some pretty tricks to divert him, but that  
‘ such animals, when they began to grow old, were  
‘ apt to take wicked and malicious freaks: In short,  
‘ let us suppose that every man but the keeper and  
‘ those under him, who knew they could not other-  
‘ wise preserve the lucrative posts they possessed,  
‘ should advise the gentleman to dispatch this animal  
‘ from his house, but the gentleman rejects all coun-  
‘ sels but those of his keeper and under-keepers: At  
‘ last the animal takes one of his natural freaks, or  
‘ instigated perhaps by the keeper, on a suspicion of  
‘ his

‘ his going to be dismissed, and having got an opportunity, seizes upon its master, treads him under foot, and tears his heart from his bosom; would not all the world agree, that tho’ the keeper ought to be hanged, the master highly deserved the mischief he had met with ?

‘ To conclude, Sir, while the *Dutch* and all the other states of *Europe*, not yet engaged in the war, shew so little concern about it, while even the Princes of *Germany* shew so little inclination to exert their whole strength upon the occasion, I cannot think the balance of power in any imminent danger; and if there is any danger threatens this nation in particular, in God’s name let it be told; when we know what it is, or from whence it is to be apprehended, we may easily take such measures as may prevent it; but do not let us, under imaginary pretences of distant foreign dangers, subject our constitution to a real, an imminent domestic danger; for what will it avail us to preserve the liberties of *Europe*, if under that pretence we destroy our own ?’

The reply was to this effect, viz.

‘ In the question now before us, Sir, it is with Reply. the greatest diffidence that I stand up to give my opinion; for the conjuncture now under our consideration is, I think, the most difficult, and the most critical, of any that ever happened since I have had the honour to be a member of this house. To add to the heavy burdens my country already labours under, is what I shall never agree to, but with the greatest reluctance; but on the other hand, if through an ill-timed piece of good husbandry, I should contribute towards involving my country in calamities, which by a small, but seasonable expence might have been prevented, it would give me the greatest uneasiness. Whatever



‘ advantage we may draw from the tranquillity of o-  
 ‘ thers ; it is certain, we must always draw great  
 ‘ and many advantages from our own ; and it is  
 ‘ as certain, that let the designs of the parties en-  
 ‘ gaged in war, be at present what they will, we  
 ‘ may be deeply concerned in its event. If either  
 ‘ the present designs should be pushed too far, or  
 ‘ new and ambitious designs encouraged and set up  
 ‘ by success, we must necessarily at last be involved ;  
 ‘ and this is what we ought, if possible, to prevent.  
 ‘ This I take to be the true and only design of the  
 ‘ augmentation now proposed ; it is so small, that I  
 ‘ cannot look upon it as designed to engage us in the  
 ‘ war, but to prevent our being engaged ; and for  
 ‘ this reason, I think, we may the more easily agree  
 ‘ to it.

‘ Whether the balance of power be now in dan-  
 ‘ ger, or whether this nation in particular be now  
 ‘ in danger, is not the question before us, but whe-  
 ‘ ther both may not be in danger by the event of  
 ‘ the present war ; and this I really think cannot be  
 ‘ made a question. In such a case we are not to be  
 ‘ directed by the behaviour of other states ; at  
 ‘ least, I am sure, the resolutions of this house  
 ‘ ought as little to be regulated by the example of the  
 ‘ *Dutch*, or of the Princess of *Germany*, as they  
 ‘ ought to be regulated by the advice of our own  
 ‘ ministers. In the war which was commenced be-  
 ‘ fore the death of the late King *William*, I believe,  
 ‘ it will not be denied, but that the balance of power  
 ‘ was really in danger ; and yet, for some time af-  
 ‘ ter it commenced, the *Dutch* seemed to all public  
 ‘ appearance, as quiet as they seem at present ; the  
 ‘ Princes of *Germany* seemed as little concerned ;  
 ‘ nay, some of them actually engaged against the  
 ‘ liberties of *Europe*, and of their country : Till we  
 ‘ declared ourselves, no Prince in *Europe* would ven-  
 ‘ ture to stir to the relief of the house of *Austria* ;  
 ‘ and

‘ and therefore I must think, that the outward behaviour of all or any of the Princes of *Europe*, can never be made use of as any argument in this debate: Besides, Sir, the other Princes and States of *Europe* have no occasion to make any augmentation of their forces, till they are just ready to take the field: They have, all of them, great bodies of land forces in continual pay; there is hardly an electoral Prince of *Germany*, but what maintains as great a number of land forces as are now in this island; and yet I hope, it will not be said, but that if we were to engage, we not only could, but ought to take the field with a much greater army than any of them can maintain; for which reason we are always under a necessity to begin to prepare, much sooner than any of our neighbours have occasion to do.

‘ We may talk what we will of the number of men in our country, and the number of ships in our harbours, but from such calculations the strength of a nation is not now to be computed. It is from the number of regular, well disciplined troops, with which they may speedily take the field, and from the number of men of war provided with experienced seamen, which they can speedily put to sea, that the strength of a nation is always now computed: A number of regular, well-disciplined troops is now become as necessary, either for offence or defence, as a well-disciplined, well-armed militia was of old; and the regard a nation is to expect from its neighbours, depends now as much upon the former, as it depended of old upon the latter. It is true, in a country which abounds with able well-bodied men, which our own country does, in my opinion, more than any other of equal extent, regiments may be soon raised, regiments may be soon augmented; but a regiment newly raised must be exercised for many months, before it can expect to engage successfully against an old,

' well disciplined regiment ; and even an old regi-  
 ' ment newly augmented, cannot pretend to enter  
 ' upon immediate action, it must have some time  
 ' to train and discipline the new men that have been  
 ' incorporated, otherwise these new men would cer-  
 ' tainly throw the whole regiment into confusion, so  
 ' that if brought into immediate action, the regiment  
 ' would find itself weakened, by having its numbers  
 ' increased: This is the reason, Sir, and, in my o-  
 ' pinion, a convincing reason, why we should al-  
 ' ways begin to increase our land forces, at least  
 ' some months before there may be a necessity for  
 ' entering upon action ; and by what is now pro-  
 ' posed, the increase is to be made in the most pro-  
 ' per and the least expensive way, that is, by ad-  
 ' ding a number of private men to each company  
 ' in the service, without raising any new regiments  
 ' or companies, which could not so speedily be  
 ' made fit for action, and would, by increasing the  
 ' number of officers, be more expensive to the na-  
 ' tion.

' I am none of those, Sir, who imagine that *Ger-*  
 ' *many, Poland and Muscovy*, can be conquered in  
 ' one campaign, and much less do I imagine, that  
 ' *France, Spain and Italy* can be conquered in a cam-  
 ' paign ; and yet I can imagine, and do verily be-  
 ' lieve, that a compleat victory or two, gained in  
 ' the very beginning of a campaign, especially by  
 ' that side which has hitherto had the best success,  
 ' might be attended with such consequences, and  
 ' might bring the unfortunate side so low, if they  
 ' met with no relief or assistance before the begin-  
 ' ning of the next campaign, that to recover the los-  
 ' ses of that campaign, and compel the conquerors  
 ' to accept of reasonable terms, would most certain-  
 ' ly cost this nation a vast expence of blood and  
 ' treasure, even though we were immediately joined  
 ' by *Holland, Denmark and Sweden*, neither of whose  
 ' assistance, even in such a critical conjuncture, we

‘ can pretend to depend upon with certainty ; for,  
 ‘ upon such an occasion, some of them might lose  
 ‘ courage, and others might expect to make an ad-  
 ‘ vantage by joining the victorious side ; and if we  
 ‘ should be obliged to engage singly, and without  
 ‘ the assistance of either of the three powers I have  
 ‘ mentioned, one unfortunate campaign, pushed with  
 ‘ vigour by the victorious side, to the very begin-  
 ‘ ning of the next, might involve us in a tedious,  
 ‘ an expensive, and even a doubtful war : Where-  
 ‘ as, if we put ourselves in such a condition, as to  
 ‘ be able to give immediate relief to the unfortu-  
 ‘ nate side, or to engage immediately against that  
 ‘ side, whose views shall hereafter be discovered to be  
 ‘ inconsistent with the safety of *Europe*, we may then  
 ‘ easily cast the balance, and may, with certainty,  
 ‘ and in a short time, be able to give laws to the  
 ‘ conquerors.

‘ I shall admit, Sir, that *France* and her allies  
 ‘ have made the declarations mentioned by the hon.  
 ‘ gentleman, and I do not know but they may be  
 ‘ sincere, but I am sure they are not to be trusted  
 ‘ to ; for, even granting that these declarations are  
 ‘ sincere ; that they have really no other views but  
 ‘ what they openly profess, yet we know, that suc-  
 ‘ cess may elate the minds of the conquerors, and  
 ‘ may make them conceive new designs, which they  
 ‘ could not at first have thought of : and against these  
 ‘ we are to provide, as well as against any designs  
 ‘ they may have at present in *petto*, which we have  
 ‘ not as yet discovered ; for if *France* and her allies  
 ‘ should over-run all *Germany*, get possession of all  
 ‘ the strong holds in it, establish *Stanislaus* upon the  
 ‘ throne of *Poland*, and oblige the Czarina to sub-  
 ‘ mit to their terms, I am very far from thinking,  
 ‘ that either of them would abide by the declarations  
 ‘ with which they began the war ; I am very much  
 ‘ afraid they would begin to think of making such  
 ‘ regulations as to them should seem meet, both in

‘ this country and in every other country of *Europe*;  
 ‘ in which case I am sure, our constitution, both in  
 ‘ church and state, would be exposed to much great-  
 ‘ er and more unavoidable danger, than it can be  
 ‘ from the small addition now proposed to be made  
 ‘ to our army.

‘ This leads me, Sir, to consider, that terrible, that  
 ‘ imminent danger our liberties are exposed to, by  
 ‘ keeping up a numerous standing army in time of  
 ‘ peace; which is a danger that has been much ex-  
 ‘ aggerated, upon this and many other occasions, by  
 ‘ the gentlemen of the other side of the question. I  
 ‘ could easily shew, it has been often shewn already,  
 ‘ by gentlemen much more capable than I am, that  
 ‘ an army kept up from year to year, under the di-  
 ‘ rection of Parliament, and commanded by gentle-  
 ‘ men of the best families, and some of them of as  
 ‘ good estates as any in the kingdom, can never be  
 ‘ dangerous either to our constitution or to our liber-  
 ‘ ties, were it much more numerous than it is, or is  
 ‘ now proposed to be; but as the keeping up of a  
 ‘ standing army in time of peace, is not, nor can  
 ‘ be now the question under our consideration, I  
 ‘ shall suppose that there is some danger, in keeping  
 ‘ up even such a standing army in time of peace;  
 ‘ will gentlemen from thence argue, that when all  
 ‘ *Europe* is in a flame, when this nation may very  
 ‘ probably, and perhaps very speedily, be obliged  
 ‘ to engage in the war, we ought not to begin to  
 ‘ make preparations? Will they say, that we ought  
 ‘ never to make any augmentation, or to prepare for  
 ‘ war, till it is publicly declared? Can this, Sir, be  
 ‘ a safe maxim for any nation; Surely no, but much  
 ‘ less can it be a safe maxim for this nation; because  
 ‘ in time of peace, we never keep up such a great  
 ‘ body of land forces as any, even the most incon-  
 ‘ siderable of our neighbours.

‘ I do not know, Sir, that any gentleman has in  
 ‘ this debate declared, that 18,000 is the number of  
 ‘ land



land forces which must always be kept up in this nation, even in time of the most profound tranquillity ; however, it has been discovered it seems, that this is the opinion of some gentlemen, and that the addition now moved for, is proposed for no other reason, but only that these gentlemen may have an opportunity of stopping the mouths of the disaffected, by reducing that additional number, as soon as the public tranquillity is re-established, Sir, if no reasons had been assigned for the addition proposed, there might have been some room for this presumption ; but, as other reasons have been assigned ; as those reasons are apparent, from the present circumstances of *Europe*, I cannot see how such a presumption can be made : But suppose this were really the design of some gentlemen in this house, will not every other gentleman be at liberty to oppose that design, when the peace is restored? May not every gentleman, who shall then have the honour to be a member of this house, propose as great a reduction as he pleases? Is it not as easy to propose the reduction of 17,000 as of 7000? And when we are so happy as to have an opportunity to make a reduction, which I hope will be soon, the question will then come properly to be argued, what number of land forces is necessary to be kept up in this nation in time of peace? Upon that question, I hope as great a number will be reduced, without any regard to the addition now made, as the safety of the nation can admit of ; for I shall join with the honourable gentlemen in opinion, that we ought never to keep up a greater number, than is absolutely necessary for the safety of the nation, and the support of his Majesty's government ; and whoever is against keeping up that number, shall always be looked on by me, as a person disaffected to both.

Before I conclude, Sir, I must take notice that from this debate, as well as from a great many others,

'thers, it appears to me, that the gentlemen employed in the administration of our affairs, are always in the most ticklish situation: If they propose to provide against dangers, by all which provisions the people must be put to an expence, they are then charged with raising imaginary dangers, in order, from thence, to take an opportunity to load the people with new taxes; and their misfortune is, that the more careful they have been in time past, this argument grows every day the stronger against them: because people begin, at last, to believe, that the dangers which were never felt, were actually imaginary, though, in reality, they were prevented, only by the provisions that were made against them; however, many people may come, at last, to be confirmed in this erroneous opinion, by which the ministers may be, at last refused those provisions that are actually necessary; and if by such refusal, any signal misfortune should befall the nation, the ministers would be sure of being loaded with the blame of it, though they had done all that was in their power to warn us of the danger.

'I cannot really comprehend, Sir, what sort of information it is that gentlemen want upon this occasion: Would they have his Majesty send to tell us, that there is a bloody war now carrying on by *France, Spain and Sardinia*, against the Emperor? Surely they do not expect that his Majesty should send us a particular message, in order to acquaint us with a piece of news, that is known to the whole world; and as this is sufficient to put us upon our guard, and to convince us that we ought to begin, at least, to prepare for the worst, I must think we stand in no need of any farther information. It may very probably be, that his Majesty has not yet discovered, whether any of the parties engaged in war, have any farther views than what they publicly avow; this, I say, may not probably

• have

‘ have been yet discovered, because no plan of an  
 ‘ agreement has, as yet, been offered to the parties  
 ‘ concerned: Or, it may be that his Majesty has al-  
 ‘ ready discovered, that some of the parties concerned  
 ‘ have some secret and ambitious views, which will  
 ‘ oblige him to declare very soon against them: In the  
 ‘ first case, his Majesty can give us no farther informa-  
 ‘ tion than what he has already given; but, suppose  
 ‘ the last to be the case, would any gentleman have his  
 ‘ Majesty, either by message or otherwise, disclose to  
 ‘ us the secrets he has discovered, or the resolutions he  
 ‘ has taken upon such discovery? Would not such a  
 ‘ message be an open and a public declaration of war?  
 ‘ And will any gentleman say, that it would be wise in  
 ‘ his Majesty, or in those who have the honour to ad-  
 ‘ vise him to make any such public declaration, be-  
 ‘ fore he has made all the necessary preparations,  
 ‘ and is just ready to enter upon action: In short,  
 ‘ let us put the case what way we will, it is impossi-  
 ‘ ble we can have, or ought to have, any farther in-  
 ‘ formation than what every gentleman without  
 ‘ doors, as well as within, fully knows, from the  
 ‘ circumstances *Europe* is in at present; and as these  
 ‘ are, in my opinion, more than sufficient for induc-  
 ‘ ing every man, who regards the safety of his coun-  
 ‘ try, to agree to the small expence now proposed,  
 ‘ I shall very little regard what may be thought of  
 ‘ the wisdom or the integrity of this house; for I am  
 ‘ very sure every man, whose good opinion is worth  
 ‘ desiring, will, from our agreeing to this question,  
 ‘ approve of both.

The question being at last put, it was, upon a di- Division.  
 vision, carried in the affirmative, 261 to 208.

The chief speakers, in support of the motion, Speakers.  
 were, Sir *William Yonge*, Colonel *Bladen*, *Thomas*  
*Winnington*, Esq; *Patrick Lindsay*, Esq; member  
 for *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, *John Howe*, Esq; member  
 for *Wiltshire*, *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; Sir *Robert Wal-*  
 ‘ *pole*,

*pole, &c.* and the chief speakers against the motion were, the hon. *James Erskine, Esq;* member for *Kingrofs* and *Clacmanan* in *Scotland*, the Master of the *Rolls*, *Sir William Wyndham, William Pulteney, Esq; &c.*

Other arguments on this occasion.

Some of the gentlemen who spoke in this debate, said, ‘ They were for an augmentation of our forces; but that it was their opinion, we ought to augment them by taking foreign troops into our pay, and not by augmenting our own army; because the first could be dismissed without leaving any charge upon the nation, after the peace was restored; but the last would always leave a charge, by increasing the number of officers on half-pay.’ This objection was answered, by informing them, ‘ That by the augmentation proposed, it was not intended to add any new officers, but only so many private men to each company; so that when peace was offered, the augmentation then made could be reduced, without leaving any charge upon the nation.’ With this answer they were satisfied, and accordingly voted for the question. But by other gentlemen, who were against the question, several other objections were made, such as, The danger of having such a great army within the island; the great burden it was to the places where they were quartered; the taking so many hands from the labour and industry of the nation, and thereby withdrawing so much of that nourishment, which was necessary for supporting the trade, the riches, and the power of the kingdom; and that the adding even of private men would leave some charge upon the nation, because when a reduction came to be made, the old and infirm would be discharged, most of whom we would be obliged to take in as pensioners on *Chelsea-college*; whereas, if no such augmentation had been made, those very men would have been continued in the service for several years longer. To which it was answered, that in a time of such public danger, it

was

was necessary to augment our forces, even within the kingdom, and therefore any small inconveniences that might from thence arise, must be borne with; that by increasing our own troops, no money was carried out of the kingdom; that it would add to the number of our trained soldiers, which, if any future danger should arise, would be an advantage to the nation; that by a man's becoming a soldier, his labour and industry was not quite lost, for many of them were as industrious after listing, as ever they had been before; that old and infirm soldiers, must always of course be dismissed, and new recruits raised in their stead, tho' no augmentation were ever made.

After the aforesaid motion was agreed to, the following motion was put, and of course agreed to, viz. 'Resolved, that a sum, not exceeding 794,529*l*. '4*s*. 7*d*. halfpenny, be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the charge of the said 25,744 men, for guards and garrisons, and other his Majesty's land forces in Great-Britain, Guernsey and Jersey, for the year 1735.'

**T**hursday the 20th of February, being the day appointed by the house of Peers, for taking into their consideration, the petition presented by the six Scotch Peers, the order of the day being read, his Grace the Duke of Buccleugh, and after him the Duke of Athol stood up, and took notice, That the petition they were then to take into their consideration, was conceived in such general and indefinite terms, that they could not, from the words of the petition, determine, whether or no the petitioners designed to controvert, or to object against the last election of the sixteen Peers, to represent the Peerage of Scotland in that house; and as their right to their seats in that house, depended upon the regularity of that election, they hoped their Lordships would take care to have that point cleared up, before they proceeded

Scotch petition taken into consideration.



ceeded any farther upon that petition, or at least, before they proceeded to the examination of any witnesses,

Motion.

This brought on a motion, ' That the consideration of the petition should be adjourned to a short day, and that the petitioners should be ordered to declare against that day, whether they intended to controvert the last election of all the sixteen Peers, to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in that house, or the election of any, and which of them.

In support of the motion it was argued thus.

Argument  
in support  
of it.

' My Lords, the petition now before us is, in my opinion, conceived in such vague and general terms, that it is impossible to determine, whether the late election, with respect to all or any of the sixteen Peers last returned, is to be attacked or not; and it is as impossible to determine, whether any, and what persons are to be accused, by the complaint exhibited to us in this petition; so that I cannot determine, and I believe no Lord in this house can, whether we are to proceed upon this affair, in our legislative or in our judicial capacity. If any undue or illegal practices were made use of in procuring the election or the return of all or any of the sixteen Lords from *Scotland*, now in this house, surely that election or return must be void, and the Peers of *Scotland* must proceed to a new election. In this case, your Lordships are certainly to proceed in your judicial capacity; and as the right of private persons is to be brought into question; as the right of no less than sixteen Lords, to their seats in this house, is to be examined into; and determined; the affair now before us is then to be considered as a cause, and I hope your Lordships will proceed in it with the same justice and impartiality, and with the same regularity, which you observe in all other causes. The sixteen noble  
' Lords

‘ Lords now in this house, must then be considered  
‘ as the defendants or respondents ; and I hope your  
‘ Lordships will never proceed in any cause, to exa-  
‘ mine witnesses for the petitioner only ; if we are  
‘ to examine any witnesses against the noble Lords  
‘ now in this house, I hope you will give them pro-  
‘ per notice, and examine likewise such witnesses, as  
‘ they may think proper for their justification.

‘ Tho’ I cannot, my Lords, from the words of  
‘ the petition, determine, whether any particular per-  
‘ sons are to be accused, yet from the nature of the  
‘ case, I must think, that it will necessarily end in  
‘ an accusation against particular persons ; for if  
‘ there have been illegal practices, there must have  
‘ been illegal practisers, and those practisers must  
‘ have been guilty of a very high misdemeanor. In  
‘ this case likewise, your Lordships are to proceed  
‘ in your judicial capacity ; and in that way, I hope  
‘ you will never proceed, to examine witnesses against  
‘ any man, without having first called the party ac-  
‘ cused before you, without having given him no-  
‘ tice of the crimes laid to his charge, or without  
‘ giving him an opportunity, both to cross-examine  
‘ the witnesses that are brought against him, and to  
‘ bring what witnesses he may think proper for his  
‘ vindication ; so that I do not see, how you can  
‘ proceed in the affair now before you, till the peti-  
‘ tioners declare, whether or no they intend to chal-  
‘ lenge or impeach the election of all or any, and  
‘ whom, of the sixteen Peers last chosen, and have  
‘ particularly named the persons who were guilty of  
‘ the undue and illegal practices of which they  
‘ complain.

‘ If any suitor in any of the courts below, should  
‘ petition this house, and complain in general of un-  
‘ due methods and illegal practices made use of, in  
‘ any court below, without naming any person, who  
‘ had been guilty of those undue methods or illegal  
‘ practices ; I believe your Lordships would not so  
‘ much

‘ much as receive or give any countenance to such a  
‘ petition ; but in the present case, your Lordships  
‘ have received the petition, and, in my opinion,  
‘ you are in the right, not only to receive it, but to  
‘ take all proper methods, to get at the bottom of  
‘ the complaint, both because of the dignity of the  
‘ petitioners, and because the matters complained of  
‘ may affect the honour and dignity of this house ;  
‘ yet still, my Lords, I hope you will proceed in it  
‘ in such a manner, as not to do injustice to any private  
‘ man, and so as not to load the innocent with  
‘ even the imputation of a heavy crime.

‘ In all cases of evidence, the witnesses must be  
‘ examined as to particular facts, and likewise as to  
‘ particular persons ; and those persons, as well as  
‘ facts, the judges must be fully informed of, before  
‘ any witnesses are brought before them to be examined.  
‘ I believe, my Lords, it was never yet  
‘ known, that any court of judicature proceeded to  
‘ examine witnesses, without having first the particular  
‘ facts laid before them, which were to be proved  
‘ by the witnesses, and likewise the persons  
‘ names against whom the witnesses were to prove  
‘ those facts. This is a rule which must be observed,  
‘ in all courts of judicature, otherwise they can never  
‘ know what they are about ; and therefore, if your  
‘ Lordships are to proceed upon this affair in your  
‘ judicial capacity, which I think you must, you  
‘ cannot regularly proceed, to examine any witnesses  
‘ till you know the particular facts those witnesses  
‘ are brought to prove, and the names of the particular  
‘ persons against whom those facts are to be  
‘ proved, without which I cannot comprehend, what  
‘ use you are to make of the proofs, that are to be  
‘ laid before you, or for what end you are to put a  
‘ great many gentlemen, and for what I know,  
‘ noblemen also, to the expence and trouble of  
‘ coming a great many miles to be examined as witnesses,  
‘ at the bar of this house.

‘ I am

‘ I am my Lords, as much as any Lord in this house, for making a most strict inquiry into the matters complained of by the petition now before us; and for this reason, I am for our taking such previous steps, as may enable us to proceed with certainty, ease, and satisfaction to ourselves, without doing an injury to any innocent man; for if we proceed to examine witnesses before we have fixed upon the particular matters, as to which those witnesses are to be examined, I foresee that we must involve ourselves in difficulties, which we shall find altogether inextricable; and as the right of the sixteen noble Lords who now sit in this house as the representatives of the Peerage of *Scotland*, is the chief thing to be considered, I think the petitioners ought first to declare, whether or no, they intend, by their petition to challenge or impeach that right.’

To this it was answered in substance as follows,  
*viz.*

‘ My Lords, the petition now before us is general, and it ought to be so. It is not a petition relating to any private right; it is not a petition complaining of any private injury; it is only in the nature of a general complaint against some illegal practices, supposed to have been made use of at the last election of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, which the petitioners think of the utmost consequence, to the honour and dignity of this house, and to the freedom and independency of Parliament; these practices, the petitioners have got some imperfect accounts of, and by the accounts they have got of them, they seem to be of such a heinous nature, and attended with such dangerous consequences, that they, as Peers of *Great Britain*, as subjects of a legal, and as yet free government, thought themselves obliged to inform this house of

Answer

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‘ what

‘ what they had heard, and of the witnesses by  
‘ whom they think those deep and dark practices  
‘ may be made appear ; well knowing, that if there  
‘ were really any such practices, the power and the  
‘ authority of this house, if exercised as it ought to  
‘ be, and I hope, as it will be upon this occasion, may  
‘ make up the deficiencies of the informations they  
‘ have had : As the practices they complain of, are  
‘ of the most heinous nature, they must certainly  
‘ have been carried on in the most hidden manner ;  
‘ and therefore it cannot be supposed, that the peti-  
‘ tioners, or that any man in a private capacity, can  
‘ have such a full information of them, as to charge  
‘ the facts, or accuse the persons particularly ; but  
‘ upon the examination at the bar of your Lordships  
‘ house, of such witnesses as they shall desire to be  
‘ examined, the iniquitous mysteries may probably  
‘ come to be revealed ; both the facts and the per-  
‘ sons may be particularly brought to light ; and then  
‘ I doubt not, but your Lordships will take such  
‘ methods as the law directs, in order to punish the  
‘ guilty, to vindicate the honour and the dignity of  
‘ this house, and to preserve the freedom and inde-  
‘ pendency of Parliament. This is what the peti-  
‘ tioners sue for, this is what the nation expects, and  
‘ I think the petitioners have taken the most proper  
‘ way, the only way they could take, to lay this im-  
‘ portant affair before your Lordships.

‘ I am surprised, my Lords, to hear it said, that  
‘ the affair now before us can, in any light, be look-  
‘ ed on as a cause, or that it ought to be treated as  
‘ such. Do the petitioners come here to complain  
‘ of any violation of their own particular rights ?  
‘ Do they complain of any injury offered to them,  
‘ or either of them in particular ? No, my Lords,  
‘ their complaint proceeds from a more generous  
‘ motive ; their complaint is against a general griev-  
‘ ance ; and therefore, if the affair now before us  
‘ is to be looked on as a cause, it must be looked on



‘ as the cause of our country and constitution : If  
‘ any injury has been done, it is to the constitution  
‘ that injury has been done, and it is to the constitution,  
‘ that redress must be granted ; but whether  
‘ that redress is to be granted, by punishing those  
‘ that shall be found to be guilty, or by making a  
‘ new law to prevent such practices in time to come,  
‘ or by both, is what cannot now be determined.

‘ I shall readily agree, my Lords, that if there  
‘ were any illegal practices, there must have been  
‘ illegal practisers ; but till you come to examine  
‘ witnesses, you can discover neither ; and even after  
‘ you have examined all the witnesses you can, after  
‘ having made as strict an inquiry as possible, the  
‘ practices may have been carried on in such a hidden  
‘ and such a subtil manner, that even your Lordships  
‘ may not be able to fix them upon any particular  
‘ person, tho’ at the same time, it may appear  
‘ evident, that some illegal practices have been made  
‘ use of : In such a case, what are your Lordships to  
‘ do ? Surely you are not to leave the honour of  
‘ this house, and the very being of our constitution,  
‘ exposed to the same illegal practices at the next  
‘ election ? You are not to neglect to repair a breach  
‘ made in your house, because you cannot discover  
‘ the thieves that made it. You are certainly, in  
‘ such a case to contrive and pass some proper law,  
‘ for preventing such practices for the future. But  
‘ on the other hand, if the practisers, as well as the  
‘ practices, should luckily be discovered by the inquiry  
‘ your Lordships are to make, you will then  
‘ certainly order a prosecution to be carried on against  
‘ the persons found or suspected to be guilty :  
‘ those persons will then become defendants, not to  
‘ this petition, but to the prosecution that shall then  
‘ be ordered against them ; and upon that prosecution,  
‘ they must of course have an opportunity to  
‘ bring witnesses in their own justification, and to

‘ cross-examine such witnesses as shall then be brought  
‘ against them.

‘ As to the right of the sixteen noble Lords,  
‘ who have now the honour to have seats in this  
‘ house, I hope it will not be impeached by any  
‘ proof that can be brought on this occasion, and  
‘ therefore I wonder that any of them should shew  
‘ the least jealousy or apprehension of any such event;  
‘ but suppose, my Lords, that in examining the  
‘ witnesses that are to be brought before you, some  
‘ things should appear that might tend towards in-  
‘ validating the last election, and consequently their  
‘ present right to their seats in this house; surely,  
‘ your Lordships will not, upon such an examina-  
‘ tion, immediately proceed to declare the late elec-  
‘ tion void. You must then of course appoint a day  
‘ to examine into the merits of the late election, and  
‘ then, and not till then, the noble Lords who are  
‘ now in this house by virtue of that election, will  
‘ become defendants, not to this petition, but to the  
‘ inquiry that shall then be ordered into the merits  
‘ of their election; and upon that occasion your  
‘ Lordships will certainly proceed with your usual  
‘ justice, and consequently will give them all the  
‘ time and opportunity they can desire for defending  
‘ their right, either by employing counsel to plead  
‘ for them, by bringing such witnesses as they  
‘ may think proper for supporting their election, or  
‘ by cross-examining all or any of the witnesses that  
‘ shall be brought against them; for the witnesses  
‘ who are examined upon this petition, must be all  
‘ re-examined, when your Lordships come to inquire  
‘ into the merits of the late election, if it shall be-  
‘ come necessary, which I hope it will not, for this  
‘ house to make any such inquiry.

‘ I cannot pretend, my Lords, to any great  
‘ knowledge in the law, and much less to a thorough  
‘ knowledge of the forms of *Westminster-Hall*;  
‘ but I must say, and I am sorry to say, that I  
‘ think

‘ think your Lordships are, upon this important occasion, falling too much into the forms of the courts below: It is well known, that a great part of their time is taken up in debating and arguing about the forms and methods of proceeding by which the principal affair in dispute is often delayed, and not seldom intirely dropt; and the debate we are now on, I must consider as a debate of the same nature: This is not your Lordships usual way of proceeding; and when an affair is brought before you, which directly and immediately concerns the honour and dignity of this house, I am surpris’d to hear any debate about the methods how we shall proceed to inquire into it; and I am still more surpris’d to hear it said, that we must never examine any witnesses, unless we first know the particular facts to which they are to be examined: This would be, indeed, tying us down to forms in the strictest manner; nay, in a more strict manner, in my opinion, than any court of common law; for I think I have heard of a form or method of proceeding in those courts, which they call pleading the general issue, and giving the special matter in evidence; in which case, if I am rightly informed, none of the particular facts, to which the witnesses are to be examined, are laid before the court, nor does the court know any thing of the questions that are to be put to them, till they come to be examined, and then only the court is to judge, whether the question that is put, has any relation to the general issue then before the court: But as the affair now before us is no tryal, as this house was never suppos’d to be confined to the rules or the forms of inferior courts, and as I am very little conversant in such forms, I shall say no more upon this subject.

‘ But, my Lords, tho’ I am very little acquainted with the forms, or the manner of proceeding

' in the courts below, yet I hope I know something  
 ' of the methods of proceedings, as well as of the  
 ' power and authority of this house; and therefore I  
 ' am not a little surpris'd at the motion made to  
 ' us; for I cannot comprehend the end for which  
 ' it is design'd, or the purpose it can serve: That  
 ' the petitioners should declare, whether or no they  
 ' intend to challenge or impeach the election of all  
 ' or any, and which of the sixteen Peers last cho-  
 ' sen: For God's sake, my Lords, what will this  
 ' declaration, when made, signify? Is this house to  
 ' be confin'd, or any way retrain'd by any decla-  
 ' ration the petitioners can make? Suppose they  
 ' should declare, that they do not intend to challenge  
 ' or impeach the election of all or any of the sixteen  
 ' Peers last chosen, are we, when we come to exa-  
 ' mine witnesses upon this petition, to be told, you  
 ' must not ask such a question, or such a question,  
 ' because by the answer to that question, the elec-  
 ' tion of the sixteen last chosen, or of some of them,  
 ' may be brought into dispute, or impeach'd?  
 ' Surely, it is not intended that we should be in this  
 ' manner confin'd, by any declaration the petitioners  
 ' can make; and if we do examine witnesses upon  
 ' this petition, with a full liberty to ask all such  
 ' questions as may tend towards discovering any il-  
 ' legal practices that may have been made use of;  
 ' suppose upon that examination, such facts, such  
 ' practices should appear, as must evidently tend  
 ' towards rendering the late election void, is this  
 ' house to be circumscrib'd by any declaration the  
 ' petitioners can make, so as that it shall not be in  
 ' our power to proceed in a regular way to declare  
 ' that election void? I hope, my Lords, no such  
 ' thing will be pretended; and therefore, as such a  
 ' declaration, when obtained, can signify nothing,  
 ' I hope an affair of so much consequence to the ho-  
 ' nour and dignity of this house, and to the freedom

‘ and independency of Parliament, will not be de-  
 ‘ layed upon that account.

To this it was said, by way of reply,

‘ That they would readily grant, that that house Reply.  
 ‘ was not to be circumscribed, or any way interrupt-  
 ‘ ed or confined by any declaration the petitioners  
 ‘ could make ; but as such a declaration could do  
 ‘ no harm, or any way retard the inquiry their  
 ‘ Lordships were to make, and as it would be a fa-  
 ‘ tisfaction to the sixteen noble Lords then in that  
 ‘ house from *Scotland*, and had been expressly desired  
 ‘ by some of them, they hoped the house would a-  
 ‘ gree to the motion, especially as it could not occa-  
 ‘ sion any great delay, because the petitioners could,  
 ‘ in a very short time, or perhaps, immediately,  
 ‘ make such a declaration as was desired ; and there-  
 ‘ fore they would move, that the farther conside-  
 ‘ ration of the petition should be adjourned but till  
 ‘ next day, and that the petitioners should a-  
 ‘ gainst that time declare, whether or no they in-  
 ‘ tended by their petition, to controvert the elec-  
 ‘ tion of all or any, and which of the sixteen Peers  
 ‘ last chosen, to represent the Peerage of *Scotland*  
 ‘ in that house.

Any farther reply in this affair was prevented, by <sup>Farther</sup> the Duke of *Bedford's* standing up and acquainting <sup>debates in</sup> the house, ‘ That since the beginning of that debate <sup>this affair.</sup>  
 ‘ he had been with the petitioners, and that they  
 ‘ had impowered him to make the declaration pro-  
 ‘ posed, and that, for his greater security, he had  
 ‘ taken it down from the petitioners in writing,  
 ‘ which, if their Lordships pleased, he would read  
 ‘ to them ; so that there was no occasion to adjourn  
 ‘ the consideration of the affair one moment on that  
 ‘ account.’



This occasioned a new debate, in which the Lord *Bathurst*, the Earl of *Chesterfield*, and the Earl of *Abingdon* insisted, ' That the declaration, as proposed by the noble Duke, was sufficient ; and that the order proposed might be entered into their journals: after which it might be entered, that in pursuance of the said order, the Duke of *Bedford* stood up, and, by virtue of a power from the petitioners, and in their names made the following declaration ; and then enter the declaration proposed to be made by the noble Duke : This, they said they thought the house could not well refuse, because the refusal would really look something like doubting the honour of the noble duke, for whom they were persuaded, every Lord there had the greatest esteem ; it would look like doubting, whether he had a sufficient authority to make such a declaration, after he had declared he had authority for so doing.' This was opposed by the Lord *Hardwick*, and the Duke of *Newcastle*, ' who professed the greatest esteem for the noble Duke, but they did not think it would be regular to receive a declaration in that manner, in an affair of so very great importance ; and at the last the Lord Chancellor having declared, That he did not in the least doubt the honour of the noble Duke, nor his having a sufficient authority for what he proposed, yet as the affair had been brought before them by a petition signed by the six noble Peers, he thought the most proper and the most regular way would be, to have the declaration proposed signed by them likewise ; and as it would occasion a delay but of one day only, he hoped the house would agree to it.

**Division.** Upon this, the question was put for adjourning the consideration of the petition till next day, which, upon a division, was carried in the affirmative, without proxies, by 90 to 51.

The

The question was next put upon the motion above mentioned, which was agreed to without a division.

After this it was proposed to adjourn, but the Earl of *Abingdon* stood up, and said, ‘ That as their Lordships had already gone a little into the forms of *Westminster-hall*, he hoped they would go a little farther: They had made an order, and, he believed, they intended the petitioners should comply with that order; therefore he thought they ought to take some method to give the petitioners notice of the order they had made. Letters directed to the petitioners.

Upon this the Earl of *Cholmondeley* said, ‘ That he thought there was no necessity for any such notice, because the orders of that house, like acts of parliament, stood in no need of any notification or publication; they published themselves, and the parties concerned were obliged to take notice of them.’ But the Lord *Bathurst* shewed, ‘ That no such thing was to be presumed, as appeared by their constant practice in all causes; and as some Lords seemed to be fond of looking upon the affair then before them as a cause, therefore he would move, That the Lord Chancellor should be directed to write letters to the petitioners, giving them notice of the order their Lordships had made.’

The Lord Chancellor said, ‘ That he should be ready to follow their Lordships directions, but desired to know, if he should write one letter to the petitioners jointly, or a particular letter to each of them separately;’ and some Lords having proposed one letter to the petitioners jointly, the Earl of *Abingdon* stood up, and said, ‘ That he did not before then know, that the petitioners were a corporation, which their Lordships seemed inclined to make them, by proposing to send a letter to them jointly;

‘ jointly ;’ whereupon it was agreed, that a separate letter should be sent to each ; and directions were given to the Lord Chancellor accordingly.

**Speakers.** The motion for the declaration above-mentioned, was made by the Lord *Hardwick*, and supported by the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and the Lord *Hervey* ; and it was opposed by the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Earl of *Abingdon*.

Next day, the order of the house being read, for taking this petition into consideration, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the house, ‘ That two of the ‘ noble Lords, the petitioners, had been with him, ‘ and had brought him a declaration in writing, ‘ signed by every one of them, in obedience to their ‘ Lordships order the day before,’ which declaration was read to the house, and was as follows, *viz.*

The peti- ‘ **I** **N** consequence of your Lordships order of ye-  
tioners de- ‘ sterday, signified to us by the Right Honour-  
claration ‘ able the Lord High Chancellor, We your Lord-  
in conse- ‘ ships petitioners do declare, that by our petition,  
quence of ‘ we did not, nor do intend to controvert the elec-  
the order. ‘ tion or return of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*,  
‘ mentioned in our said petition, or of any of them :  
‘ But we intended, as we thought it our duty, to  
‘ lay before your Lordships, the evidence of such  
‘ facts and undue methods, mentioned in general in  
‘ our said petition, as appeared to us to be dangerous  
‘ to the constitution, and may in future elections  
‘ equally affect the right of the present sixteen Peers,  
‘ as that of the other Peers of *Scotland*, if a proper  
‘ remedy be not found out ; as we had before im-  
‘ powered his Grace the Duke of *Bedford* to inform  
‘ your Lordships.’

<i>Hamilton and Brandon,</i>	<i>Dundonald,</i>
<i>Queensbury and Dover,</i>	<i>Marchmont,</i>
<i>Montrose,</i>	<i>Stair.</i>

After

After the reading of this declaration, a motion was made, 'To adjourn the farther consideration of the petition till that day seven-night, and that the petitioners might be ordered to lay before the house, against that day, in writing, instances of those undue methods and illegal practices upon which they intended to proceed, and the names of the persons they suspected to be guilty of such undue methods and illegal practices.'

Motion  
for the pe-  
titioners  
to declare  
facts and  
persons.

The argument in favour of this motion was in substance thus :

'My Lords, when I first heard this petition read, I was of opinion with other Lords, that it, conceived in such general and indefinite terms, that it was impossible for this house to proceed upon it, without involving ourselves in difficulties which we would find insuperable ; but now, that I have heard this declaration read, I am farther at a loss than ever, to know what is meant or intended by the petition. When I first heard it read, I did, indeed, imagine that the noble Lords, the petitioners, did intend to impeach the last election of the sixteen Peers, chosen to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in this house ; and as the right of those Lords was to be impeached, I thought it was reasonable, that the design and intention of the petitioners should be expressed in clear and distinct terms, therefore I was for their making such a declaration as was then ordered : But by their declaration, now read to us, I find they have no such design or intention ; so that I really cannot now comprehend, or so much as guess at what they would have us to do upon the petition they have presented, unless their design be to impeach or accuse some particular persons, of crimes which they take to be of a very high nature ;

Argument  
for it.

ture; and if that be their intention, surely the persons names they design to impeach, ought to be particularly expressed, and those persons ought to be informed of the particular crimes which are laid to their charge.

An accusation is not, it is true, a condemnation; but, my Lords, it must be granted, that a man's character suffers, even by an accusation; and though he may be afterwards, upon a full and impartial trial, acquitted, yet it seldom happens, that the scandal thrown upon his name by the accusation, is intirely wiped off by his being acquitted; and in the mean time, during the whole time that intervenes between his accusation and his trial, he labours under an imputation, which your Lordships must allow to be a very great misfortune. It is certain, my Lords, that every man ought to have a very great regard to his honour and his character in the world; it is what the meanest creature in life ought to be extremely jealous of, and much more those, who, by their birth and their fortune, are placed in a superior station; and therefore I hope your Lordships will always be cautious of going in rashly to any measure, by which the characters of private men may be very much injured. In the present case, I think, it is evident, that the characters of some private men must be attacked, by any proof that can be laid before you, in relation to this affair: The characters of some men must suffer, and those not of mean rank in the world; they must be persons in eminent stations: Therefore I hope your Lordships will not, upon general suggestions, and without any determinate aim or design, proceed to examine witnesses in a case, where the characters of particular men, the characters of men eminent in their stations, will certainly be greatly injured.



‘ It is a maxim, my Lords, established by the  
‘ reason of things, as well as by the practice, I be-  
‘ lieve, of all the judicatures in the world, never to  
‘ examine any witness, when by such examination a  
‘ private man’s character may be blasted, without  
‘ giving that man an opportunity, at the same time,  
‘ to vindicate his character against any aspersion that  
‘ may be thrown upon it by that examination: In  
‘ such a case it is not sufficient to say, that the man  
‘ whose character has been blasted, shall afterwards  
‘ have an opportunity to vindicate it, by being  
‘ brought to a fair and impartial trial; for, in the  
‘ mean time, he must labour under an imputation,  
‘ and it is a misfortune for a man to be exposed to  
‘ any scandalous imputation for a day, nay, for a  
‘ moment: There may, perhaps, be a real, an ho-  
‘ nest intention, to afford him a speedy opportunity  
‘ for his justification; but that intention may be dis-  
‘ appointed, he may die in the mean time, and then  
‘ his memory will be loaded with that imputation  
‘ for ever; some of the witnesses, by whom he  
‘ might have cleared up his character, may die in the  
‘ mean time, or may depart out of the kingdom;  
‘ many other accidents may happen, which may put  
‘ it intirely out of his power to vindicate himself,  
‘ tho’ he be altogether innocent of what has been  
‘ laid to his charge; and therefore it is absolutely ne-  
‘ cessary to give a man an opportunity of vindica-  
‘ ting himself, at the same time and in the same man-  
‘ ner he is accused.

‘ Another maxim, my Lords, as reasonable, and  
‘ as uniformly observed, is, that no witnesses are e-  
‘ ver to be examined against any man, without gi-  
‘ ving him an opportunity to be present, to cross-ex-  
‘ amine the witnesses, and to take care that no lead-  
‘ ing questions may be put to them; for when wit-  
‘ nesses are examined, *ex parte*, they may vent their  
‘ spleen, or satiate their revenge against private men,  
‘ by swearing falsely against them, with much more  
‘ ease

' ease than when examined in presence of the party  
 ' accused, and cross-questioned upon every fact and  
 ' every circumstance they relate; a fact may appear  
 ' criminal by their general and confused way of rela-  
 ' ting it, which would have appeared quite otherwise  
 ' if the party had been present, in order to put the pro-  
 ' per questions for making them explain themselves;  
 ' and by artful leading questions, they may be induced  
 ' to affirm things as consisting with their knowledge,  
 ' which they would never have affirmed or perhaps  
 ' mentioned, if the party accused had been present,  
 ' to prevent any such leading question's being put to  
 ' them; and in this last case the danger and the  
 ' inconvenience is the greater, that when a man is  
 ' once induced to affirm any thing for truth upon  
 ' oath, even tho' it be, perhaps, by way of informa-  
 ' tion or preparation for a trial, yet when the trial  
 ' comes on, and that man is again examined, as a  
 ' witness against the prisoner or party accused, he  
 ' thinks himself in honour obliged to stand by and  
 ' confirm what he has before been induced to de-  
 ' clare upon oath, and against that time will be very  
 ' probably be so well prepared, that it will be im-  
 ' possible to discover his perjury by any cross question:  
 ' Thus, my Lords, it must appear to be extremely  
 ' dangerous to examine witnesses in any case, where  
 ' a man's character may be brought in question,  
 ' without having him present at such examination;  
 ' but to examine witnesses without knowing what, or  
 ' against whom you are to examine them, especial-  
 ' ly in a case where the characters of men of the  
 ' highest stations may very probably be attacked, is,  
 ' in my opinion, a method of proceeding not only  
 ' dangerous, but altogether unprecedented.

' I shall not pretend, my Lords, to be a great  
 ' master of precedents; but I do not remember to  
 ' have heard that there was ever such a general ac-  
 ' cusation brought into this house as the present: E-  
 ' ven in impeachments, in acts of attainder, and all

' the

‘ the parliamentary proceedings I have ever heard  
‘ of, some particular facts are always charged, and  
‘ those facts are likewise charged against particular  
‘ persons. I do not know that there was ever any  
‘ complaint made to this house, of illegal practices  
‘ in general, without mentioning so much as one  
‘ particular fact, or one particular person ; but, that  
‘ we must find out the particular facts ; as well as the  
‘ particular persons guilty of those facts, and that  
‘ we must, for that purpose, enter into a long ex-  
‘ mination of witnesses, and put people to the trou-  
‘ ble and the expence of coming, perhaps, from the  
‘ remotest parts of his Majesty’s dominions, to be ex-  
‘ amined about we know not what, and against we  
‘ know not whom : This ought not, I think, to be  
‘ done. I shall always be ready to agree, to hear  
‘ the complaints of any subject, when made in any  
‘ proper way, and much more the complaint of the  
‘ petitioners, for all of whom I have so great an e-  
‘ steem : But let them point out to us, some way  
‘ or another, of what and against whom they com-  
‘ plain : Let us but know what they complain of,  
‘ and the persons they suppose to have been guilty  
‘ of those facts ; and I shall be most ready and wil-  
‘ ling to enter into any method for giving them re-  
‘ dress.

‘ There might, my Lords, be some excuse for  
‘ the generality and indefiniteness of the complaint  
‘ now before us, if it could be said, that it was not  
‘ possible for the petitioners to be more particular ;  
‘ but, from the very petition they have presented,  
‘ the contrary appears ; for though they complain  
‘ of illegal practices in general, yet they afterwards  
‘ say, they are ready to lay instances of these prac-  
‘ tices before us : It was therefore in their power to  
‘ have mentioned those instances in the body of  
‘ their petition ; and surely they may still, when-  
‘ ever they please, give us an account of them, and  
‘ of the persons that were guilty ; for if they know  
‘ the

‘ the particular facts, they must know the particular  
‘ persons; and therefore they not only can, but  
‘ may easily comply with the motion now made to  
‘ us: It is what they may do, and certainly is what  
‘ they ought to do, and what is absolutely necessa-  
‘ ry for this house to have done, before we can  
‘ proceed to examine into the complaint now before  
‘ us: Upon this occasion, and indeed upon every  
‘ occasion, we ought to remember the motto of  
‘ the great hall of justice below, *Audi alteram par-*  
‘ *tem*. Let us hear the defendants; let us hear  
‘ those against whom the complaint is made: But  
‘ how can we hear them, unless we know who they  
‘ are?’

‘ In all causes, in all trials, and in all courts, the  
‘ examination of witnesses is always the last thing  
‘ that is done. The party complaining is heard in  
‘ support of the charge, and then the court hears  
‘ what the defendant has to say against it, or in his  
‘ own justification, before they ever proceed to ex-  
‘ amine the witnesses of either side: And in all the  
‘ courts I have ever heard of, except a court which  
‘ is called an ecclesiastical court, but is one of the  
‘ most unchristian courts that was ever set up in the  
‘ world, I mean the court of inquisition, the wit-  
‘ nesses are always examined in the presence of both  
‘ parties; but if we should proceed to examine wit-  
‘ nesses upon this petition, as it now stands, and  
‘ without any more particular information, we should  
‘ be still worse than the inquisition; for it would be  
‘ entering upon, and carrying on a trial, before we  
‘ so much as knew, or had ever heard of the persons  
‘ that were to be tried. As I am convinced, there is  
‘ no Lord in this house that desires ever to see a court  
‘ of inquisition set up in this kingdom, and much  
‘ less that this house should ever, in any of its pro-  
‘ ceedings, imitate that tyrannical court, therefore  
‘ I make no doubt of your Lordships agreeing to the  
‘ motion now before us.’

To

To this it was answered, in substance as follows,  
viz.

‘ I must own, my Lords, I am very much sur- Answer.  
‘ prised at the motion now made to your Lordships,  
‘ and I think I have much more reason to be at a  
‘ loss to know the true design of this motion, than  
‘ the noble Duke who made it can have, for his be-  
‘ ing at a loss to know the true design of the peti-  
‘ tion. The true design of the petition, my Lords,  
‘ is in itself clearly expressed, and the desire of the  
‘ petition is what this house not only may, but ought  
‘ to comply with : But by this motion the petition-  
‘ ers are desired, to do what evidently appears to be  
‘ impossible for them to comply with ; and I hope  
‘ the noble Duke does no way intend what may be  
‘ inferred from such a demand. The petitioners  
‘ may probably have heard of some of those undue  
‘ any illegal methods that were practised at the last  
‘ election of Peers in *Scotland*, but it is impossible  
‘ they should know them all, or all that may be  
‘ made appear by an examination of the proper wit-  
‘ nesses at the bar of this house ; and as to the prin-  
‘ cipal persons concerned in those practices, against  
‘ whom your Lordships inquiry is, without doubt,  
‘ to be chiefly directed, it is absolutely impossible  
‘ the petitioners should know any thing about them,  
‘ at least not so much as to give them a sufficient  
‘ ground to name them to this house.

‘ To mention in any resolution of this house, or  
‘ to talk of the petitioners proceeding upon any in-  
‘ stances, or against any persons, is what is most ir-  
‘ regular and most improper : It is, my Lords, to  
‘ suppose, that the petitioners are prosecutors ;  
‘ whereas it appears plainly, by their petition, that  
‘ their only intention was to give your Lordships  
‘ notice, that some dangerous practices have lately  
‘ been made use of, and to contribute as much as  
‘ they could, to put you in a way of getting a full  
‘ infor-



' information, in relation to those practices. When  
 ' you have got this information, it is not the peti-  
 ' tioners that are to proceed; it is this house that is  
 ' to proceed, against the persons who shall appear to  
 ' have been guilty of such practices. The petition-  
 ' ers only propose to lay some facts before your  
 ' Lordships, which they take to be of dangerous  
 ' consequence to the honour of this house, and to  
 ' the freedom of Parliament; and which, they think,  
 ' ought to be prevented in time to come. Their  
 ' petition is therefore in the nature of a petition a-  
 ' gainst a general grievance, which they desire your  
 ' Lordships to inquire into, and to provide such re-  
 ' medy as you shall think necessary. In such a case,  
 ' is it proper to talk of their proceeding upon any  
 ' facts, or against any persons? Is it to be supposed,  
 ' that either they, or this house, can yet know, whe-  
 ' ther any persons are to be, or ought to be proceed-  
 ' ed against?

' Upon examination of the witnesses, whom the  
 ' petitioners are to point out to you, it may appear  
 ' evident, that some practices have been made use  
 ' of, which ought to be prevented by some new law  
 ' or regulation; and yet, my Lords, that proof may  
 ' be such, as not to lay a sufficient foundation for  
 ' prosecuting any particular person: It cannot there-  
 ' fore be in their power to name the persons; but  
 ' suppose it were, are we to put off an affair which  
 ' concerns the honour of this house as much as it  
 ' does the petitioners, because they have not named,  
 ' and perhaps will not name the persons guilty. Sup-  
 ' pose, my Lords, we should get information, that  
 ' several barrels of gun-powder had been placed un-  
 ' der this house, in order to blow us up; would it  
 ' not be very odd in us, to put off going to search  
 ' for, or remove the gun-powder, till we should be  
 ' informed by what means, at what time, and by  
 ' whom the powder was placed there? The case be-  
 ' fore us is the very same; there is a sort of meta-  
 ' phorical

phorical gun-powder placed under this house, which will in time, blow us up, if it be not removed ; and in such a case, are we to trifle away our time in inquiries after the names of the persons who placed it there, and the methods by which it was conveyed ?

‘ I shall readily grant, my Lords, that a man’s character suffers a little even by an accusation ; but is not this the very reason why the laws of this kingdom do not allow any man to be accused, but upon the oath of some person or another ? And is not this the strongest reason that can be given, is it not a most convincing reason, for our not complying with the motion made to us ? Nay, does it not shew, that the petitioners would have acted contrary to the spirit, and to the whole tenour of the laws of this kingdom, if they had named any person ? And shall we, by any resolution of this house, overturn that which has been the established maxim of our law for so many ages ? It is true, the most innocent man must lie under an imputation, from the time of his being accused, to the time of his being tried ; and if any person’s name shall be mentioned upon the examination of witnesses, as having been guilty of some of the illegal practices complained of, he will certainly lie under an imputation, from that time to the time of his being brought to his trial ; but does not the same inconvenience accrue from what is now demanded ? If the petitioners should name any person as guilty, it will bring as great an imputation upon him, as if he had been named by a witness upon oath at your bar, and that imputation he must lie under, till he can be cleared, by a fair and impartial trial : The imputation will be the same ; and I am sure it will be much longer before a man can be brought to his trial, after being named by the petitioners, than after being named by witnesses, examined upon a regular inquiry. Let

‘ the guilty persons then be who they will, let them  
 ‘ be men in a high or a low station in life, it will  
 ‘ be as inconvenient for them to have their names  
 ‘ declared by the petitioners, as to have their names  
 ‘ mentioned by witnesses, upon any inquiry your  
 ‘ Lordships are to make; and it is certainly much  
 ‘ more consonant to our laws, not to have any man’s  
 ‘ name mentioned, till it is mentioned by a witness  
 ‘ upon oath, when examined upon a regular inquiry  
 ‘ into the facts complained of.

‘ That it is a maxim established, either by the  
 ‘ reason of things, or by the practice of any court  
 ‘ of judicature in the world, never to examine wit-  
 ‘ nesses, without giving the man, who is, or may be  
 ‘ accused by such examination, an opportunity, at  
 ‘ the same time, to vindicate his character, or to  
 ‘ cross-examine the witnesses, is what I cannot agree  
 ‘ to: On the contrary, my Lords, I take it to be  
 ‘ a maxim established, both by the reason of things,  
 ‘ and by the practice of every court of judicature  
 ‘ in the world, that it is proper to inquire into facts  
 ‘ by the examination of witnesses, in order to find  
 ‘ out the persons that ought to be accused, or to  
 ‘ learn how to proceed against those that are; and  
 ‘ at such examinations, the parties who are or may  
 ‘ be accused, are never allowed to be present, nor  
 ‘ have they ever the least notice given them, that  
 ‘ witnesses are to be examined, as to facts, by which  
 ‘ their characters may be blasted. That this is the  
 ‘ practice in this kingdom, from the highest court  
 ‘ of judicature to the lowest, is beyond contradic-  
 ‘ tion. Does not this house, as well as the other,  
 ‘ sometimes upon meer suggestions, nay upon com-  
 ‘ mon fame, inquire into crimes of the highest  
 ‘ nature, and in which it may be supposed, that  
 ‘ persons in the most elevated stations have been con-  
 ‘ cerned? Have not committees often been named  
 ‘ for such purposes? And do not these committees  
 ‘ always examine witnesses, without giving an op-  
 ‘ portunity

' opportunity to the persons, who are, or may be accu-  
 ' sed, to vindicate their characters at the same time,  
 ' or to cross-examine those witnesses, by whom not  
 ' only their characters may be blasted, but their  
 ' lives and fortunes brought into danger? And with  
 ' respect to inferior courts, is it not the constant and  
 ' well known practice, to examine witnesses before  
 ' grand juries, in order to the finding of bills of  
 ' indictment, without allowing the party accused to  
 ' be present, or giving him any notice, that wit-  
 ' nesses are to be examined against him? Nay, even  
 ' justices of peace, do not they always examine wit-  
 ' nesses upon oath, before they grant any warrant?  
 ' And is the party against whom the warrant is to  
 ' be granted, ever present at such examination, or  
 ' has he any notice, that witnesses are to be examin-  
 ' ed against him? It is therefore certain, that in this  
 ' nation, it has been, and still is, the general and  
 ' constant practice to inquire into crimes of all kinds,  
 ' by the examination of witnesses, without giving  
 ' any notice to the party that is or may be accused,  
 ' or giving him any opportunity at that time, either  
 ' to vindicate his character, or to cross-examine the  
 ' witnesses; and that this practice is not attended  
 ' with any inconvenience, I need not endeavour to  
 ' prove by arguments; for the long continuance of  
 ' it is a better argument than any other that can be  
 ' brought.

' How this petition, my Lords, can be considered  
 ' as an accusation, I cannot imagine, and if it were,  
 ' I can as little imagine, how it can be looked on  
 ' as the most general accusation that was ever brought  
 ' into this house. I shall not call it an accusation,  
 ' I must call it a representation of a grievance, which  
 ' I think, ought to be remedied; and that grievance  
 ' is very particularly set forth, both as to the na-  
 ' ture of it, and as to the time of its happening;  
 ' nay, the petitioners go farther; they say they are  
 ' ready to lay particular instances before us, in that

‘ way, which I take to be the only proper way of  
‘ laying facts before any court of judicature, that is,  
‘ by the depositions of witnesses. I am surprised to  
‘ hear it said, that in impeachments, in acts of at-  
‘ tainder, and in all Parliamentary proceedings, par-  
‘ ticular facts are always charged, and those facts  
‘ charged against particular persons: Your Lord-  
‘ ships must all know, that impeachments and acts  
‘ of attainder are generally grounded upon an in-  
‘ quiry, made by this or the other house of Parlia-  
‘ ment: It is true, when the affair comes the length  
‘ of an actual impeachment, or a bill of attainder,  
‘ particular facts are then charged, and those facts  
‘ are charged upon particular persons; but most of  
‘ those inquiries, which have been the first steps to-  
‘ wards an impeachment, or bill of attainder, have  
‘ proceeded upon general surmises, some of them  
‘ upon common fame only, and some of them upon  
‘ a motion unsupported by any charge, either gene-  
‘ ral or particular.

‘ In the other house, my Lords, it is very well  
‘ known, that upon the most general suggestions of  
‘ any crime or misdemeanor, a committee is always  
‘ named to inquire into the affair complained of, and  
‘ that committee is always impowered to send for  
‘ persons, papers and records; witnesses are examin-  
‘ ed, and the whole proofs that can be collected,  
‘ either from persons, papers or records, are taken  
‘ by that committee, before any particular fact has  
‘ ever been mentioned, or any particular person  
‘ named to the house: Neither the house, nor any  
‘ person breathing, besides those of the commit-  
‘ tee hears a word of the particular facts, or a  
‘ name of any particular person mentioned, till that  
‘ committee comes to make their report. This  
‘ is directly the case of the petition now before  
‘ us: It is far from being too general for the founda-  
‘ tion of an inquiry; on the contrary, we are in  
‘ honour, in duty to our country, obliged to take it



' as such, and that inquiry may be the foundation of  
 ' an impeachment ; but this is what neither this house  
 ' nor the petitioners can as yet tell. Tho' the pe-  
 ' titioners have not at present the honour to be mem-  
 ' bers of this house, yet in every other respect, they  
 ' are all Peers of *Great Britain* as much as any of  
 ' us: If it had not been so, if they had not been  
 ' Peers of *Great Britain*, the proper place for them  
 ' to have applied to, would have been to the other  
 ' house, and it is certain the other house would have  
 ' immediately appointed a committee, to have re-  
 ' ceived the instances and proofs, now offered to be  
 ' laid before your Lordships ; there would not, there,  
 ' I believe, have been such regard shewn to the cha-  
 ' racters of those who might suffer by those proofs :  
 ' And shall the petitioners, my Lords, be the worse  
 ' for being Peers of *Great Britain*? I hope not ; but  
 ' if this motion prevails, I am sure it may with  
 ' justice be said, they have the misfortune to be  
 ' Peers of *Great Britain*.

' That there have been many parliamentary in-  
 ' quiries without any particular charge, and without  
 ' any particular persons being named, is beyond dis-  
 ' pute ; but even in our inferior courts, do not we  
 ' know, my Lords, that grand juries often present  
 ' nufances in general terms, and without mentioning  
 ' any particular fact, or any particular person ; and  
 ' do not these courts often proceed, to inquire into  
 ' the nuisance so presented, in order to find out and  
 ' punish the persons that have been guilty of it :  
 ' And in any court of law, if a petition should be  
 ' presented by any number of suitors, men of cha-  
 ' racter, whose judgment and veracity the court  
 ' could depend on, complaining in general of abuses  
 ' committed in any branch of practice, and desiring  
 ' that the court would examine into, and endeavour  
 ' to prevent such abuses for the future, either by  
 ' punishing the persons who might appear to be  
 ' guilty, or by making some new regulation ; if

‘ that court should reject such a petition, and neglect  
 ‘ or refuse to make any inquiry into the branch of  
 ‘ practice complained of, I should conclude, that  
 ‘ the judges were more intent upon screening their  
 ‘ officers, than upon doing justice to the subject :  
 ‘ Nay, I should readily believe, that even the judges  
 ‘ themselves were partakers in the frauds and extor-  
 ‘ tions committed by their officers.

‘ The reverend Prelate, who was pleased to men-  
 ‘ tion the court of inquisition, has a mind, it seems,  
 ‘ to soften as much as he can the methods of pro-  
 ‘ ceeding in that terrible tribunal, when he compares  
 ‘ them to the method proposed to be followed upon  
 ‘ the petition now before us : The method now pro-  
 ‘ posed is, first to inquire into those illegal practices  
 ‘ suspected to have been made use of ; and if upon  
 ‘ that inquiry it should appear, that any particular  
 ‘ persons have been guilty of practices, for which  
 ‘ they ought to be punished, to be sure some noble  
 ‘ Lord in this house will stand up, in his place, and  
 ‘ impeach the persons against whom any suspicions  
 ‘ of guilt shall, upon that inquiry appear ; or this  
 ‘ house will, at a conference, communicate to the  
 ‘ other house, the discoveries made upon such in-  
 ‘ quiry, and, upon that, the other house will become  
 ‘ the prosecutors : In either case, the persons accused  
 ‘ will be brought to an open, a fair, and an impar-  
 ‘ tial trial, they will know their prosecutors, and  
 ‘ will have an opportunity to cross-examine the wit-  
 ‘ nesses that are brought against them, and to bring  
 ‘ witnesses, or what other proofs they may think  
 ‘ proper for their vindication : This, my Lords, is  
 ‘ the regular and constant method of proceeding in  
 ‘ Parliament upon all such occasions, and is the me-  
 ‘ thod established by our ancestors, for preserving  
 ‘ the people from oppression and arbitrary power ;  
 ‘ but the method of proceeding in the inquisition,  
 ‘ and the design of such proceedings are very diffe-  
 ‘ rent : There the party accused, is condemned with-  
 ‘ out

‘ out any open or fair trial, and he is never allowed  
‘ to know either his prosecutors, or the witnesses  
‘ against him, nor is he allowed to bring any proof  
‘ of his innocence; nay, he does not so much as  
‘ know the crime he is accused of, till the sentence  
‘ comes to be executed upon him: This is the me-  
‘ thod of proceeding in that tyrannical court, and  
‘ the design or aim of all their proceedings is to  
‘ support the arbitrary power of their master, the  
‘ Pope of *Rome*. The methods of proceeding in  
‘ this house were never yet applied to the support of  
‘ any arbitrary power, spiritual or temporal, and as  
‘ little will they, I hope, be ever applied to the  
‘ screening of oppressors or criminals, let their qua-  
‘ lity, let their station in life be what it will; for if  
‘ the methods of proceeding in this house should  
‘ once come to be applied to the screening or pro-  
‘ tecting of high criminals, the next step will cer-  
‘ tainly be, to make use of this house only for the  
‘ support of oppression, and for sharpening the edge  
‘ of arbitrary power.

‘ The petitioners may and certainly do, know  
‘ some instances of the illegal practices complained  
‘ of, but that they know them all is not to be pre-  
‘ sumed: All that they can know, must proceed  
‘ from accounts given voluntarily and freely by some  
‘ particular men, and it cannot be supposed that  
‘ those men knew a great deal; but, by the autho-  
‘ rity of this house, others may be compelled to give  
‘ a full account of what they know, even some of  
‘ the under-agents, entrusted and employed in those  
‘ practices, may be examined. and from them we  
‘ may expect a fuller information, than from any of  
‘ those who were never let much into the secret. It  
‘ cannot therefore be supposed, that the petitioners  
‘ can give us many instances of the illegal practices  
‘ they complain of, or a full account of any of  
‘ them; and whatever accounts they may be able to  
‘ give us, they have certainly proposed the most  
‘ proper

‘ proper method for giving them : The most proper  
‘ method of laying an account of any fact before this  
‘ house, or before any court of judicature, is certainly  
‘ to do it by witnesses upon oath ; and if the petitioners  
‘ had chosen any other method, if they had in their  
‘ petition given us long accounts of particular facts,  
‘ I am very well convinced, it would then have been  
‘ represented as an illegal and unprecedented method  
‘ of laying facts before this house ; nay, I do not  
‘ know but the petition would have been complain-  
‘ ed of, and perhaps rejected, as a scandalous and  
‘ impertinent petition.

‘ But, my Lords, because the petitioners know  
‘ some instances of the illegal practices complained  
‘ of, to conclude from thence, that they must cer-  
‘ tainly know the principal persons guilty, is, I think,  
‘ very odd. I cannot pretend to know any thing  
‘ of the practices made use of ; but from two sorts  
‘ of practices that have been publicly mentioned, I  
‘ must conclude, that it is impossible for the peti-  
‘ tioners, to know the principal persons guilty. Sup-  
‘ pose, my Lords, that the having a regiment drawn  
‘ up under arms, in the very place where, and at  
‘ the very time when, the last election of 16 Peers  
‘ was made, should be one of the illegal practices  
‘ complained of ; in this case, the petitioners may  
‘ know the officer that then commanded the regi-  
‘ ment ; but that officer is not surely the person a-  
‘ gainst whom your Lordships inquiry is to be  
‘ chiefly directed ; he certainly had his orders from  
‘ some superior officer ; that superior officer is the  
‘ person, against whom your Lordships inquiry must  
‘ be chiefly directed ; and the name of that su-  
‘ perior officer your petitioners cannot be supposed  
‘ to know.

‘ Let us again suppose, my Lords, that corrup-  
‘ tion was one of the illegal practices made use of  
‘ at last election : Some Lords of *Scotland* may per-  
‘ haps have owned, that they got money for voting  
‘ according

' according to direction, or that they were offered  
 ' money, or some other reward, on condition they  
 ' would vote according to direction; but those Lords  
 ' would certainly, for their own sakes, conceal the  
 ' names of the persons who gave or offered them  
 ' money, or other reward, for such a corrupt and  
 ' criminal purpose, because the person named, would  
 ' have been intitled to an action of scandal for spread-  
 ' ing such a report against him, and upon that ac-  
 ' tion, would certainly have recovered great da-  
 ' mages; whereas, upon an examination at your  
 ' Lordships bar, the persons guilty may be named  
 ' without any such danger: But farther, my Lords,  
 ' where practices so highly criminal are made use of,  
 ' we cannot suppose, that the persons principally con-  
 ' cerned would personally appear; such practices are  
 ' generally carried on by under-agents; and though  
 ' some indirect hints may perhaps have been given  
 ' as to the names of those under-agents, yet it is im-  
 ' possible for the petitioners, to know the names of  
 ' the principal persons who employed those agents;  
 ' nay, even your Lordships may find some difficul-  
 ' ty, to fix those practices on the persons on whom  
 ' they ought principally to be fixed, and against  
 ' whom the inquiry of this house, and the vengeance  
 ' of the nation, ought principally to be directed.

' Your Lordships will, without doubt, observe  
 ' the motto of *Westminster-hall*, *Audi alteram partem*:  
 ' It is a rule that will, I hope, be always observed  
 ' by this house; and in the affair now before us,  
 ' you will certainly hear the other side, as soon as  
 ' there is one to be heard: As yet there is no side,  
 ' there is no prosecutor nor prosecution, and conse-  
 ' quently, no person prosecuted to be heard: The  
 ' petitioners are no prosecutors, nor is it possible for  
 ' them, to tell who are to be prosecuted, or whether  
 ' there be any person that ought to be prosecuted or  
 ' no: They complain only against a grievance, they  
 ' desire your Lordships will inquire into that griev-  
 ' ance,



‘ vance, and apply such remedies as you may think  
 ‘ proper. If, among other remedies, it shall be  
 ‘ found necessary to prosecute the persons who, by  
 ‘ your inquiry, shall be discovered to have been any  
 ‘ way concerned in the grievance complained of, a  
 ‘ legal and regular prosecution, will certainly be  
 ‘ carried on against those persons, and then your  
 ‘ Lordships will certainly hear what they have to say  
 ‘ in their own defence, and till then they have no-  
 ‘ thing to do with your Lordships inquiry, nor have  
 ‘ they a right to be present at the examination of  
 ‘ any witnesses to be examined at the bar of this  
 ‘ house.

‘ In short, your Lordships may profess what you  
 ‘ will, but if the affair now before us, be thus put  
 ‘ off by motion after motion ; motions which seem  
 ‘ to germinate one from another ; the world will  
 ‘ not believe that you have an inclination to go to  
 ‘ the bottom of the affair before you, or that you  
 ‘ have an inclination to save your country from the  
 ‘ impending ruin which is so loudly complained of,  
 ‘ and so generally foreseen : And thus, by shewing  
 ‘ such a tender regard to the characters of some  
 ‘ particular men, who may perhaps be in danger of  
 ‘ being exposed by a strict inquiry into this affair,  
 ‘ your Lordships will bring a most heavy, and, I  
 ‘ am afraid, a very general imputation upon the  
 ‘ character of this house ; therefore I hope the no-  
 ‘ ble Duke will wave this motion, and let us proceed  
 ‘ to appoint a day for inquiring into this affair, by  
 ‘ the examination of all such witnesses as may be  
 ‘ thought proper to be examined, upon an occasion  
 ‘ of so great importance to the honour of this house,  
 ‘ and to the freedom and independency of Parlia-  
 ‘ ment.’

The reply was to the following effect, viz.

Reply.

‘ My Lords, as parliamentary inquiries have been  
 ‘ often of great advantage to this nation, and may  
 ‘ be

‘ be so in time to come, I shall therefore, upon all  
‘ occasions, be ready and willing to agree to any  
‘ such proposition, when there appears a necessity  
‘ for entering into the inquiry proposed; but as all  
‘ parliamentary inquiries, must be attended with  
‘ great trouble and expence to some of his Majesty’s  
‘ subjects; and as they always raise some sort of  
‘ ferment in the nation, they are not to be entered  
‘ upon without some apparent necessity for so doing:  
‘ We are not, at the desire of any subject, or of any  
‘ number of subjects, to set up a parliamentary in-  
‘ quiry, unless those who desire it, can shew us very  
‘ good reasons to suspect, that some illegal prac-  
‘ tices have been committed, and that it is become  
‘ necessary for this, or the other house of Parliament  
‘ to inquire into them. I have a very great respect  
‘ for the noble Lords the petitioners, and I am per-  
‘ suaded, they think that some illegal practices have  
‘ been made use of, and that it is become necessary  
‘ for this house to inquire into them: This they are  
‘ certainly convinced of, otherwise they would never  
‘ have presented such a petition: This is their opi-  
‘ nion, but they must give me their reasons, before  
‘ I can make it mine: If those reasons be as preva-  
‘ lent with me, as they are with them, I shall cer-  
‘ tainly agree to the inquiry desired; but neither in  
‘ this, nor in any other case, shall I ever give my  
‘ vote according to the opinion of another, but ac-  
‘ cording to that which I have formed for myself.  
‘ It is therefore incumbent upon the petitioners, to  
‘ give us some reasons to believe, that illegal prac-  
‘ tices have been actually made use of, and that  
‘ there is a necessity for this house to inquire into  
‘ them; and as it is impossible to give us any such  
‘ reasons, without first giving us some particular in-  
‘ stances of the illegal practices they complain of,  
‘ and some account of the persons, they suspect to  
‘ have been concerned in such practices, I cannot but  
‘ think, the motion now made to us, a very proper  
‘ motion

‘ motion upon this occasion, and such a one, as  
 ‘ the petitioners ought certainly to comply with, before  
 ‘ they can expect that any Lord in this house, who  
 ‘ knows no more of those illegal practices than I do,  
 ‘ can agree to any sort of parliamentary inquiry.

‘ When any inquiry is moved for in either house  
 ‘ of Parliament, these three questions naturally oc-  
 ‘ cur to every member of that house, Whether the  
 ‘ practices proposed to be inquired into, be illegal ?  
 ‘ Whether they be such as may be presumed to have  
 ‘ been committed ? And whether they be of such a  
 ‘ nature, as cannot be punished or remedied by the  
 ‘ ordinary courts of law ? These are three questions,  
 ‘ I say, my Lords, which naturally occur to every  
 ‘ member, and he ought to satisfy himself about e-  
 ‘ very one of them, before he gives his opinion, ei-  
 ‘ ther for or against agreeing to the inquiry proposed.  
 ‘ Now, I appeal to your Lordships, how any Lord  
 ‘ in this house, who knows nothing of the practices  
 ‘ lately made use of in *Scotland*, can satisfy himself  
 ‘ as to either of these questions, without knowing  
 ‘ something more about them, than he can know  
 ‘ from the petition now before us ? In my opinion,  
 ‘ it is impossible for any man to satisfy himself in ei-  
 ‘ ther of the three, without knowing some particular  
 ‘ instances of the practices complained of, and the  
 ‘ names of the persons said to have been guilty of  
 ‘ those practices. But suppose we should agree to  
 ‘ inquire into this affair, without any farther infor-  
 ‘ mation than what we have at present ; I must beg  
 ‘ your Lordships to consider, how it would be possible  
 ‘ for us to examine, or to put the proper questions to  
 ‘ any witness, that shall be brought to the bar of this  
 ‘ house ? For as none of the petitioners have at present  
 ‘ a seat in this house, I cannot form to myself any que-  
 ‘ stion that could be put by any other Lord to a  
 ‘ witness, but only the general question ; if he knew  
 ‘ of any, and what illegal practices made use of at  
 ‘ the last election of sixteen Peers for *Scotland* ? This,  
 ‘ in

‘ in my opinion, would be a very improper question, because it would be leaving it intirely to the judgment of the witness, to determine, what he took to be an illegal practice, and to give us an account of none but what he took to be such : Upon such a general question, it may be supposed, that some witnesses would give us long and tedious accounts of trifling facts, nothing at all to the purpose, while others might perhaps neglect to inform us of things of the greatest importance. Therefore not only to enable us to judge if there be a necessity for an inquiry, but likewise to enable us to proceed with accuracy and vigour ; we ought to agree to the motion proposed, and the petitioners ought to comply with it, as I make no doubt but they will.

‘ My Lords, in all preparatory examinations, in all sorts of examinations that ever I heard of, the witnesses are questioned about particular facts, and likewise in relation to particular persons ; and either the judge, before whom the witness is examined, or some person concerned, and attending for that purpose, knows, or is instructed, how to put the particular questions to the witness, in order to draw the whole truth from him, relating to that affair about which he is examined. Even with respect to those inquiries which have proceeded from a motion in either house of Parliament, the member who proposes an inquiry, does not barely make a motion for that purpose ; he stands up in his place, and always gives the house an account of the particular facts he desires to be inquired into : nay, he generally gives the names of the particular persons against whom he makes his complaint : By that speech the members are not only enabled to judge, whether or no a parliamentary inquiry be necessary, but they are likewise enabled to put the proper questions to the witnesses, that may thereafter be brought before them in the committee.

‘ mittee. And besides, the member who makes the  
 ‘ motion, is always named one, and generally the  
 ‘ chairman of the committee, who must be supposed  
 ‘ to know the particular facts, and to suspect, at  
 ‘ least, who were the particular persons guilty of  
 ‘ those facts, so that he must of course know, how to  
 ‘ put the proper question to every witness, and the  
 ‘ particular facts, as to which each witness ought re-  
 ‘ spectively be examined.

‘ Suppose, my Lords, that the petition now be-  
 ‘ fore us is to be taken as a general complaint against  
 ‘ a grievance, and a desire to have that grievance  
 ‘ redressed, yet it must be granted, that it is one of  
 ‘ the most general complaints that was ever brought  
 ‘ before either house of Parliament: Inquiries may  
 ‘ have been set up upon meer suggestions, or upon  
 ‘ common fame; yet I believe there was never an  
 ‘ inquiry set up upon such a general suggestion, or  
 ‘ upon such a general report: Some particular facts  
 ‘ are always suggested, even common fame reports  
 ‘ some particular crimes, and fixes those crimes up-  
 ‘ on some particular persons, before it is made the  
 ‘ foundation of any Parliamentary inquiry. And  
 ‘ with respect to presentments at common law, it  
 ‘ is very certain, no grand jury ever made such a  
 ‘ general presentment as the complaint now before  
 ‘ us: They always fix upon some particular thing,  
 ‘ or upon some particular practice, and present it  
 ‘ as a nuisance, which they think ought to be reme-  
 ‘ died; and if a grand jury should make a present-  
 ‘ ment, complaining in general, that at such a time,  
 ‘ or upon such an occasion, some illegal prac-  
 ‘ tices had been made use of, without mention-  
 ‘ ing one of those practices which they took to be  
 ‘ illegal, or one of the persons by whom they sup-  
 ‘ posed such practices to have been made use of, I  
 ‘ am persuaded no inferior court in *England* would  
 ‘ take any manner of notice of such a presentment.  
 ‘ An utter neglect would certainly be the fate of  
 ‘ such



‘ such a presentment at common law ; and I am  
 ‘ persuaded a motion in the other house for an inqui-  
 ‘ ry, founded upon such a general and indefinite  
 ‘ charge, would meet with very little success : How-  
 ‘ ever, I am very far from proposing, that the pe-  
 ‘ tition now before us ought to be intirely neglected;  
 ‘ I think it ought to be greatly regarded, both on  
 ‘ account of the persons complaining, and the mat-  
 ‘ ter complained of ; and I shall be for making  
 ‘ a most strict inquiry into the affair, if the pe-  
 ‘ titioners will but make it possible for us to do so,  
 ‘ by giving us some instances of the practices they  
 ‘ complain of, and the names of some of the per-  
 ‘ sons they suspect to have been guilty of those  
 ‘ practices.

‘ The petitioners, my Lords, must know, or  
 ‘ have heard of some particular facts which they take  
 ‘ to be illegal, and of dangerous consequence, other-  
 ‘ wise it is certain, they never would have presented  
 ‘ such a petition to this house : Let them but inform  
 ‘ us of those particular facts they know or have heard  
 ‘ of, that we, as well as they, may judge whether they  
 ‘ are illegal or not ; that we, as well as they, may  
 ‘ judge whether they are of such dangerous conse-  
 ‘ quence, as to deserve a Parliamentary inquiry :  
 ‘ And it is impossible they can know any particular  
 ‘ fact, without knowing the names of some of the  
 ‘ persons who were guilty of those facts : Nay, it is  
 ‘ impossible they could have heard of any facts,  
 ‘ without having had the persons guilty named to  
 ‘ them, or at least described in such a manner as  
 ‘ they must know who they are ; for though there  
 ‘ might perhaps, have been some danger, in publish-  
 ‘ ing the name of any person upon such an oc-  
 ‘ casion, yet the person guilty might have been  
 ‘ so described as to make every one know who  
 ‘ was meant, without exposing the person who  
 ‘ gave such description, to any danger : Such de-  
 ‘ scriptions must have been fully understood by

‘ the petitioners ; and surely they may, without any  
 ‘ danger, declare to this house the names of the per-  
 ‘ sons they suppose to have been meant by such de-  
 ‘ scriptions.

‘ To conclude, my Lords, though I have as  
 ‘ great a regard for the noble Lords the petitioners,  
 ‘ as any Lord in this house can have ; tho’ I could  
 ‘ depend upon their judgment as much as upon the  
 ‘ judgment of any men ; yet I cannot answer to my  
 ‘ self for agreeing to take up the time of this house,  
 ‘ and put witnesses to the trouble and expence of tra-  
 ‘ velling perhaps a great many miles, which must  
 ‘ be the event of our entering upon an inquiry in-  
 ‘ to this affair, without being, in my own judg-  
 ‘ ment convinced, that there is great reason to sus-  
 ‘ pect that some very illegal and dangerous practi-  
 ‘ ces have been made use of, and that they are prac-  
 ‘ tices of such a nature, as cannot be punished or re-  
 ‘ medied any other way than by a Parliamentary in-  
 ‘ quiry ; and since I cannot, of this, be convinced in  
 ‘ my own judgment, without knowing particularly,  
 ‘ both the practices that are suspected to have been  
 ‘ illegally committed, and the persons names that  
 ‘ are suspected to have been guilty of those practices,  
 ‘ therefore I must be for the motion.’

After this debate, the Lord *Bathurst* stood up, and  
 spoke to this effect, *viz.*

Motion for  
 separating  
 the two  
 parts of the  
 question.

‘ My Lords, since I find your Lordships are  
 ‘ like to come to a question upon this motion, I  
 ‘ must observe, that, as it stands at present, it is a  
 ‘ motion complicated of two very distinct parts.  
 ‘ By the first part of it, the petitioners are to be or-  
 ‘ dered to lay before this house, in writing, instan-  
 ‘ ces of those undue methods and illegal practices,  
 ‘ upon which they intend to proceed ; and by the  
 ‘ other part, they are to be ordered to lay before this  
 ‘ house, the names of the persons they suspect to have  
 ‘ been

‘ been guilty of those undue methods and illegal practices: Now, my Lords, as these two parts are evidently as distinct and different from one another, as any two motions can be ; and as it is evident, that several Lords may, for very good reasons, be against the last part, tho’ they may be for the first, therefore, my Lords, I must make use of that right which every Lord has, by the constant practice of this house, and desire that the parts may be separated, and the question put separately upon each.

The question being called for, his Lordship stood up again, and insisted upon it, ‘ that when a question appeared to be complicated, every single Lord in that house, had a right to desire that the parts might be separated, and that different questions might be put upon the several different parts, This, he said, was a right that was never controverted, and he insisted upon his right.’

The question being still called for, he stood up the third time, and said, ‘ that since they did not seem <sup>Amend-  
ment offer-  
ed.</sup> inclined to grant him a right, which had never been denied to any Lord in that house, he would propose an amendment to the motion, which was that these words (*and the names of the persons they suspect to have been guilty of such undue methods and illegal practices*) might be left out ; and therefore he hoped their Lordships would put the question upon the motion.’

Upon this the question was put upon the amendment offered, which was carried in the negative, by 90 to 48 ; and then the question being put upon the motion, it was carried in the affirmative, without a division. <sup>Question.</sup>

Speakers.

The motion was made by the Duke of *Devonshire*, and was supported by the Earl of *Scarborough*, the Lord *Hervy*, the Lord *Hardwick*, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Illy*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of *Newcastle*. It was opposed by the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the Lord *Gower*, the Lord *Bathurst*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, and the Earl of *Stratford*.

The petitioners having been made acquainted with this last order, in the same manner they were made acquainted with the former, they delivered their answer in writing to the Lord Chancellor, on the 27th of *February*: And next day, the order of the house being read, the Lord Chancellor acquainted the house that he had received from the petitioners, an answer in writing to their Lordships last order, which he read to the house, and of which the following is an exact copy, viz.

Petitioners  
answer.

‘ *My Lords,*

‘ **Y**OUR Lordships order of *February* the 21st instant, hath been signified to us by the right  
‘ hon. the Lord High Chancellor, with respect to  
‘ which we do humbly submit to your Lordships,  
‘ That we have not, by our petition, stated ourselves  
‘ accusers of any person whatever, nor did we intend  
‘ to do so; but thought it our duty to lay before  
‘ your Lordships, by way of petition, that such  
‘ methods and practices were used, towards carrying  
‘ on the last election of sixteen Peers for *Scotland*,  
‘ as appeared to us dangerous to the constitution, and  
‘ might prove subversive of the freedom and inde-  
‘ pendency of Parliament. The preservation of our  
‘ happy constitution is what we have in view, with-  
‘ out regard to any particular persons; and we hum-  
‘ bly conceived, that any matter which so nearly  
‘ concerns this constitution, or might appear to be  
‘ an encroachment upon it, was a proper subject for  
‘ your

' your Lordships consideration and inquiry, as a high  
' court of Parliament.

' That, without stating ourselves as accusers,  
' which is far from our intention, we conceive we  
' cannot take upon us to name the particular persons,  
' who may have been concerned in those illegal  
' practices; but, who those were, will undoubtedly  
' appear to your Lordships, upon taking the pro-  
' per examinations; and the facts are what we hum-  
' bly pray may be inquired into, *whoever may hap-*  
' *pen to be affected by them*: Nor can we without act-  
' ing as evidences, comply with those words of your  
' Lordships order, to give the names of the persons  
' by whom such undue methods and illegal practi-  
' ces were used; But, would we act both as accu-  
' sers and witnesses, it is impossible for us to in-  
' form your Lordships, who were the persons that,  
' in the course of this examination, and from the  
' testimony of future evidences, may appear to  
' have been concerned in the above-mentioned prac-  
' ces.

' We do also humbly submit to your Lordships,  
' that we may have very certain and true informa-  
' tion of undue methods and illegal practices, that  
' have been used towards engaging Peers to vote  
' for a list; and yet that our informers may not  
' have thought proper to name the persons, by whom  
' such undue methods and illegal practices were used;  
' or may be unwilling to do so, until they are brought  
' upon their examination.

' And, with respect to the laying before your  
' Lordships the particular instances of the undue  
' methods and illegal practices mentioned in our pe-  
' tition, we humbly submit to your Lordships, if an  
' examination of this kind ought to be confined to  
' particular instances; since, from the nature of the  
' thing, it appears evident, that many instances may  
' come out in the course of such examination, the  
' particular circumstances whereof cannot be known



‘ to your petitioners, and yet must appear upon inquiry.

‘ That, though the opening the particulars of the facts to be proved, may necessarily produce such a discovery of evidence before examination, as is usually thought dangerous, even in course of ordinary trials, and may be much more so in the case of a Parliamentary inquiry.

‘ Yet, nevertheless, in consequence of your Lordships order, as far as we are able from the nature of the thing, we do humbly acquaint your Lordships, that we laid the petition before you, upon information, that the list of sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, had been framed by persons in high trust under the crown, long previous to the election itself; and that this list was shewn to Peers, as a list approved of by the crown, and was called the *King's list*, of which there was to be no variation, unless to make way for one or two particular Peers, on condition they should go along with the measure.

‘ That Peers were solicited to vote for this list, or the *crown list*, without the liberty of making any alteration.

‘ That endeavours were used to engage Peers to vote for this list, by promise of pensions, and offices civil and military, to themselves and near relations, and by actual promise and offers of sums of money.

‘ That sums of money were actually given, to or for the use of some Peers, to engage them to concur in the voting this list.

‘ That annual pensions were promised to be paid to Peers, if they concurred in the voting this list; some of them to be on a regular establishment, and others to be paid without any establishment at all.

‘ That

‘ These instances of undue practices we now hum-  
 ‘ bly mention, which we hope will satisfy your lord-  
 ‘ ships, that we have just reason to pray your Lord-  
 ‘ ships to take this matter into your serious considera-  
 ‘ tion, and to provide such a remedy as may be ef-  
 ‘ fectual, for preserving the right and freedom of  
 ‘ elections; such right of electing being the only  
 ‘ right that now remains with the Peers of *Scotland*,  
 ‘ in lieu of a constant and hereditary seat in Parlia-  
 ‘ ment.

Feb. 27, ' Hamilton and Brandon, Dundonald,  
1734. ' Queensbury and Dover, Marchmont,  
' Montrose, Stair.

After this answer was read, a motion was made Motion 2-  
for their Lordships to resolve, ' That the petitioners gainst it.  
' had not complied with the order of that house of  
' the 21st instant.'

The argument for this resolution was to the effect as follows, viz.

Argument  
for the  
motion.

‘ My Lords, the answer now read to us, is, in  
‘ my opinion, altogether as general and as obscure  
‘ as the petition which your Lordships want so much  
‘ to have explained, and without which explanation  
‘ the opinion of this house seems to be, that we can-  
‘ not proceed : The petitioners, ’tis true, have in  
‘ this answer told us in general, the nature of some  
‘ practices which are highly criminal, and which  
‘ deserve very much the notice of this house ; they  
‘ have indeed told us the species of those crimes,  
‘ which they suppose to have been committed : but  
‘ they have not told us of any particular crime ; nor  
‘ have they given us so much as one instance of any  
‘ particular fact upon which they intend to pro-  
‘ ceed ; and as for the persons names supposed  
‘ to have been guilty of those crimes, they have not  
‘ in so far as I can find, given us the least hint of  
‘ any one ; so that we are certainly now as much in  
‘ the dark, as when we made that order to which  
‘ they have given us this answer : I cannot therefore  
‘ think that any of your Lordships will be of opi-  
‘ nion, they have complied with the order of this  
‘ house ; nay, so far are they from complying with  
‘ it, that they seem cautiously to avoid complying  
‘ with it, even so far as was in their power ; for they  
‘ do not so much as say, that their informers have  
‘ refused to name the persons guilty ; but only say,  
‘ that their informers may, perhaps, be cautious of  
‘ naming any particular persons, till they come to  
‘ be examined at your Lordships bar. Surely, my  
‘ Lords, if their informers told them the names of  
‘ the persons that were guilty, they might, in com-  
‘ pliance with your Lordships order, have given the  
‘ names of such persons ; and if their informers have  
‘ actually refused to name any persons till they come  
‘ to the bar of this house, the petitioners might have  
‘ positively said so : Then, as to the regiment that  
‘ is said to have been kept under arms near the place  
‘ of election, the petitioners must certainly know  
‘ the

‘ the name of the officer who commanded the regiment at the time ; and consequently, they might surely have complied with your Lordships order so far as to give you the name of that officer, which I find they have not done ; and for that reason I shall conclude with a motion so natural, that I hope no Lord in this house will make any difficulty in agreeing to it.

‘ When your Lordships made the last order, it was certainly your opinion, that it was impossible to proceed to the examination of any witnesses in this affair, till you knew some of the particular facts about which the witnesses were to be examined, and the particular persons against whom they were to give their evidence. This must have been your opinion, otherwise you would never have made such an order: And now I appeal to every Lord in this house, if from the petitioners answer, now before us, he can pretend to any farther knowledge than he had at that time, either as to the particular crimes committed, or as to the persons who were guilty of those crimes ; therefore I must conclude, that every Lord in this house, who agreed to that order, must of course agree to the motion I am to make: Besides, there is nothing, my Lords, in which the honour and the dignity of this house is more concerned, than in that of seeing our own orders punctually complied with ; and as it cannot be pretended that the petitioners have, by this answer, complied in the least with our last order, therefore, I think, I must be justified in moving, that your Lordships would come to a resolution, That the petitioners have not complied with your said order.’

The answer to this was in substance as follows,  
*viz.*

‘ My

Answer.

‘ My Lords, when your Lordships last order was first proposed, I was not only of opinion, that it was contrary to the whole spirit and tenour of the laws of *England*, which do not allow any man’s character to be loaded with an accusation, unless by the oath of some person or another ; but I was likewise of opinion, that it would be impossible for the petitioners to comply with it, and therefore I at that time opposed it : However, now that it is become an order of this house, I must admit that it was a just, a right, and a proper order ; and therefore, the only thing we have now under our consideration, is, Whether the petitioners have complied with it or no ? I hope, my Lords, it will not be supposed that we are, by any order, to require people to do what is impossible ; and for this reason, every order made by this house must, in the very nature of it, imply an alternative : Every order we make must be presumed to imply, that those to whom it is directed, shall either comply with it punctually, or shew us that it is impossible for them to do so ; for surely neither the honour nor the dignity of this house can be engaged, to make any man perform an impossibility.

‘ According to this rule, my Lords, let us examine the answer now before us : By our order, we desired the petitioners to give us instances of those illegal practices they complained of ; and have not they given us instances of the most illegal practices that were ever made use of at any election ? Is not bribery an instance of illegal practices ? And can that instance be more particularly expressed, than they have expressed it in their answer ? They have not only told us the species of the crime, but they have told us several ways or methods how it was made use of : They have told us, that some were bribed by the promise of offices, some by the promise of money or pensions ; that some were bribed by the actual grant of pensions, some by the ac-  
tual



‘ tual grant of offices, and some by the actual grant  
‘ of releases of debts, owing by them to the crown :  
‘ Nay they have told us, that sums of money were  
‘ actually given to or for the use of some Peers, to  
‘ engage them to concur in the voting a list of Peers :  
‘ Is it possible, my Lords, to give more particular  
‘ instances of bribery, without actually naming the  
‘ persons who gave, and the persons who received  
‘ the bribes? But bribery, it seems, was not of it-  
‘ self sufficient to cram this list down the throats of  
‘ some of the Peers of *Scotland*; to their gifts and  
‘ their promises they were forced to add menaces and  
‘ threats: By calling it the *King’s list*, and by say-  
‘ ing it was approved by the crown, what else can  
‘ be understood, than that they designed to threaten  
‘ those who should refuse to vote for it, with the  
‘ displeasure of the crown, and that they must ex-  
‘ pect to be turned out of any office or employment  
‘ they enjoyed under the crown? Nay, the petiti-  
‘ oners go farther, they tell us, that not only his  
‘ Majesty’s name, but his Majesty’s troops were  
‘ made use of, to terrify those whom money or pro-  
‘ mises could not corrupt. Without giving us the  
‘ names of the persons by whom, and to whom those  
‘ expressions were made use of; without giving us the  
‘ name of that person from whom those orders to his  
‘ Majesty’s troops originally flowed, it is impossible  
‘ to describe those instances of menaces and threats,  
‘ more particularly than they are described in the an-  
‘ swer now before us; and therefore there is not the  
‘ least pretence to say, that the petitioners have not  
‘ fully complied with this part of your Lordships  
‘ order.

‘ Now, my Lords, with respect to the other part  
‘ of your Lordships order, by which the petitioners  
‘ are desired to give us the names of the persons that  
‘ were guilty of those crimes; this indeed they have  
‘ not complied with; but for what reason? Because  
‘ it is impossible. They do not say, that from their

‘ own

own knowledge they know any of those illegal practices; they do not so much as insinuate, that any man attempted to bribe or to frighten either of them: No, my Lords, all the knowledge they have, is, by information; and they expressly tell us, that were they to act both as accusers and witnesses, it would be impossible for them to inform your Lordships who were the persons guilty; and farther besides the credit which is due to their characters, they give us a most convincing reason for the impossibility they labour under in this respect, they tell us, that their informers may be unwilling to name the persons guilty, until they are brought upon their examination; and this, my Lords, every one of your Lordships must agree to be very probable, nay, to be certain, because of the great danger that attends the mentioning of any person's name upon such an occasion. As to the officer that commanded the regiment, kept under arms during the time of that election, I do not doubt but the petitioners may know his name; but I am surprised to hear any Lord say, that the petitioners ought to have named him in their answer to your Lordships order, because he was not, nor could be the person guilty; he must have been but an inferior officer, and therefore must have had orders from a superior for what he did: The superior, the supreme, I mean, my Lords, the person from whom those orders originally flowed, is the only person guilty, and the only person your Lordships are to inquire after; all under him are obliged to obey their orders, under the pain of mutiny, which is immediate death; and therefore they cannot be the persons guilty; so that it would have been ridiculous in the petitioners, to have named the officer who commanded the regiment, as the person guilty of any illegal practice; and the other, the petitioners cannot know: but, my Lords, by examining that officer, and perhaps some others, at your Lordships

‘ Lordships bar, you will at last find out the person,  
‘ properly chargeable as the criminal in this respect  
‘ I say criminal, my Lords ; for it has always been  
‘ held highly criminal, to leave any regular forces  
‘ in any town where an election is to be ; and cer-  
‘ tainly it must be much more criminal, to march  
‘ them into such a town, and to give them orders  
‘ to stand to their arms, as if they were ready to cut  
‘ the throats of all those, who should dare to oppose  
‘ the persons that gave them their orders: Thus, I  
‘ think it is evident, that with the first part of your  
‘ Lordships order the petitioners have fully compli-  
‘ ed ; and with the latter part, they have not only  
‘ declared, but have shewn, in the most convincing  
‘ manner, that it is impossible for them to comply ;  
‘ and therefore there cannot be the least foundation,  
‘ for the resolution the noble Lord has been pleased  
‘ to move for.

‘ There may be, and I hope, my Lords, there  
‘ are many Lords in this house, who might think,  
‘ that your Lordships could not well proceed to an  
‘ inquiry into this affair, without some farther lights  
‘ than you had by the petition ; and may now think  
‘ that you have had lights sufficient to proceed to an  
‘ inquiry, by which those dark scenes of iniquity  
‘ may perhaps be opened fully to view. The three  
‘ questions which naturally occur, when an inquiry  
‘ is proposed, may now be easily answered: Can it  
‘ be doubted but that the practices, of which the  
‘ petitioners have given us so many instances, are il-  
‘ legal? Can it be supposed, that they can be either  
‘ punished or prevented by any inferior court? Is it  
‘ not admitted of all sides, that they are such as  
‘ highly deserve the notice of this house? As to the  
‘ first and third questions, therefore, none of your  
‘ Lordships seem to make any doubt ; then as to the  
‘ second, Whether they are such practices as may  
‘ be presumed to have been committed? I am sor-  
‘ ry, my Lords, to say, that the presumption is, in  
‘ my

‘ my opinion, but too strong. Besides the characters  
‘ of the noble Lords the petitioners, who are well  
‘ known, and I hope well respected by most of your  
‘ Lordships, have we not a general clamour against  
‘ such practices? And when I consider the great  
‘ qualifications, and more especially the just, the ge-  
‘ neral, and the prudent conduct of some of the  
‘ petitioners, who had the honour to be members of  
‘ this house in last Parliament; the great number of  
‘ votes they had in their favour, at the election for  
‘ that Parliament; and the small number of votes they  
‘ had in their favour at last election; I must say, I am  
‘ afraid there is too much ground for this general  
‘ clamour, too solid a foundation for this particular  
‘ complaint; so that as to the second question, there  
‘ can be, in my opinion, as little doubt as in either  
‘ of the other two.

‘ Another argument, my Lords, which seemed  
‘ to make some of your Lordships willing to agree  
‘ to the order then proposed, was, that without some  
‘ farther lights into this affair, the proper question  
‘ could not be put to the witnesses to be examined  
‘ at your bar: But can any Lord now say, that we  
‘ are not fully instructed by the answer now before  
‘ us, for putting the proper questions to every wit-  
‘ ness that can be brought to our bar, upon an in-  
‘ quiry into this affair? The particular interrogato-  
‘ ries, both as to bribery and threats, and likewise  
‘ as to the regiment, which seems to have been made  
‘ use of, with an intention to over-awe this election,  
‘ arise so naturally from the answer before us, that  
‘ we may get at the bottom of this affair, without  
‘ any farther information: But, besides, though the  
‘ petitioners have not now the honour to be mem-  
‘ bers of this house, yet surely they will be allowed,  
‘ and by this petition they appear to be ready and  
‘ willing, to give every Lord of this house as much  
‘ assistance as they can, in putting the proper que-  
‘ stions to each witness, so as to enable us to draw  
‘ from

‘ from every witness the whole of what he may know,  
‘ about the illegal practices made use of at last elec-  
‘ tion. From all which it is probable, nay, I think  
‘ it is to be expected, that there are many Lords in  
‘ this house who were for the order proposed, but  
‘ will now be for proceeding directly to an inquiry  
‘ into this affair, and consequently must be against  
‘ the motion now proposed.

‘ My Lords, notwithstanding I have, I think,  
‘ clearly shewn, that the petitioners have fully com-  
‘ plied with your Lordships order, in so far as it was  
‘ possible for them to comply with the same; yet I  
‘ should be very easy about the event of this motion,  
‘ if I did not suspect that it was to be followed by  
‘ another, which will, I am afraid, put an end to  
‘ this affair; and therefore I hope the noble Lord  
‘ will be so ingenuous as to stand up, and declare  
‘ what he intends by the motion he has been pleased  
‘ to make; for though the petitioners do not intend,  
‘ or should absolutely refuse to set themselves up as  
‘ accusers, yet I hope your Lordships are not, for  
‘ that reason, to drop an affair, in which the honour  
‘ and the dignity of this house, in which the very  
‘ being of our constitution are all so deeply concern-  
‘ ed. When this affair came first before us, it was  
‘ said, it ought to be looked on as a cause, and that  
‘ therefore the petitioners ought to be considered as  
‘ the plaintiffs, and ought to name those they de-  
‘ signed to make defendants; but if it were to be  
‘ considered as a cause, we are not, in my opinion,  
‘ to look on the petitioners as plaintiffs, nor upon  
‘ any particular persons as defendants. It is my  
‘ Lords, the honour of this house, the liberties of  
‘ the people, and our happy constitution, that are  
‘ to be looked on as the plaintiffs, and bribery and  
‘ corruption are the defendants: These, my Lords,  
‘ are properly the parties to this cause, if the affair  
‘ now before us were to be looked on as such;  
‘ but it ought not, in any shape, to be consider-  
‘ ed



ed as a cause ; it is to be considered only as an inquiry, which some of the best and greatest of his Majesty's subjects have earnestly petitioned for, which the nation calls aloud for, and which the honour of this house most peremptorily requires.

It is certain, my Lords, it is evident from the records of both houses of Parliament, that inquiries have been often set up, without naming any persons whose conduct or crimes were to be inquired into. Even but a few sessions ago, there was an inquiry set up in this house, and witnesses examined at the bar of this house, without naming any person who was supposed to have been concerned in the affair then inquired into ; I mean, my Lords, the affair of the *South-sea* company, in relation to the disposal of their directors estates : It is true, that inquiry was objected to and opposed, as I believe all inquiries will for ever be ; but the reasons for opposing that inquiry, were not because no particular person was named, nor any particular instance of fraud given ; no, my Lords, the only objection against that inquiry, was, that there were no petitioners before us : It was said, that we ought not to inquire into that affair, because none of the proprietors of the *South-sea* stock, none of the persons concerned, had complained of any frauds or undue practices. In the present case, this objection cannot be made ; we have now a petition before us, we have persons complaining of undue practices, who are highly interested in the complaint ; but now it is said, we must not inquire into this affair, because none of the practices are particularly mentioned, because none of the persons guilty are particularly named : Thus, my Lords, will some objection be always found, to our entering upon an inquiry into any fraudulent or criminal practices, let the interest and safety of the nation,

tion, or the honour and dignity of the house be ever so much concerned.

‘ If a coroner, my Lords, should be informed that a person had been murdered, the body buried, and the murder concealed; but that if he would examine such witnesses as his informers should direct him to, the murder might be discovered, and the persons guilty apprehended, and brought to condign punishment; surely the coroner would be very deficient in his duty, if he should neglect or refuse inquiring into the affair, because his informers could not, or perhaps would not, declare to him the persons guilty, and the particular manner in which the murder was committed: Surely, my Lords, if his informers were men of any character or credit, if they were persons upon whose information he could have the least dependence, he would immediately order the body to be taken up and examined, and would examine in the strictest manner every witness his informer could direct him to. The case before us is the very same: If your Lordships can have any dependence upon the character or credit of the petitioners, you must suspect, that a most horrid murder has been committed: An election there has certainly been, whether it was a fair and natural election, your Lordships are to inquire; for if it was carried on by undue methods and illegal practices, the right of the Peerage of *Scotland* has been murdered, our constitution has got, I am afraid, a mortal stab: I am persuaded none of your Lordships are of opinion, that the petitioners are persons whose information is not in the least to be depended on; and in such a case, upon such an information, will your Lordships refuse to make any inquiry, because they cannot inform you of the particular persons concerned in this murder, and of all the particular circumstances how it was committed? For God’s sake, my Lords, consider what an injury

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‘ will be done, by such a refusal, to the nation in general ; what a public slur will be thrown upon the honour of this house, and upon the justice of our proceedings.

‘ In short, my Lords, the honour of this house, as well as the independency of Parliament, is, in my opinion, so much concerned in the affair now before us, the complaint is so well supported, the grievance so fully and so particularly set forth, and a redress so loudly and so generally, as well as particularly called for, that if we do not inquire strictly into this affair, I shall hardly expect that this house will ever for the future inquire into the complaints of any subject, or of any number of subjects ; and if the other house follow the example of this, where then shall the subjects go to complain ? No where can they go, my Lords, but to the foot of the throne, which they cannot approach, but when the ministers please to give them leave ; and then, I am sure it must be granted, that the subjects of this once happy and free nation, will be reduced to the same state with the subjects of the most absolute, the most slavish monarchy on earth.’

To this it was replied as follows, viz,

Reply.

‘ My Lords, by the motion which the noble Lord was pleased to make to us, I must think, that the only question now before us is, Whether the petitioners have complied with the last order of this house, or no ? If they have, your Lordships must disagree to the resolution proposed ; if they have not, you cannot avoid agreeing to it. This is the only question now in hand, and therefore I must think it very irregular, to lanch out into other matters, but still more irregular, to bring any arguments which may seem to impeach the justice or the property of an order already agreed to.

' to. Now, my Lords, as to the question. I have  
 ' read, I have thoroughly considered, both your  
 ' Lordships order, and the answer now before us,  
 ' and I must really be of opinion, that the petitioners  
 ' have not complied with any one part of your  
 ' Lordships order : By that order, they are desired  
 ' to give us instances of the illegal practices com-  
 ' plained of ; and in answer to this they tell us, that  
 ' some were bribed with ready money, some with  
 ' offices, or with releases of debts, due by them to  
 ' the crown, and some with promises ; and they seem  
 ' to insinuate, that others might be terrified, by  
 ' calling the list proposed to them, the King's list ;  
 ' or by the regiment that was drawn up near the  
 ' place of election : Is there in all this one particular  
 ' instance ? Is there any thing, but what every Lord  
 ' in this house must have known before he saw this  
 ' answer ? Surely, if any illegal practices are made  
 ' use of, for influencing any election, those practices  
 ' must consist either in bribing or threatening the  
 ' electors ; they can consist in nothing else ; and I  
 ' must think that your Lordships intended, by that  
 ' order, to be informed of something more than you  
 ' knew, when that order was made : You certainly  
 ' did ; and as the petitioners have given you no  
 ' farther knowledge or information, it cannot surely  
 ' be said, that they have complied with that part of  
 ' your Lordships order.

' It may perhaps be impossible for the petitioners  
 ' to give us any particular instances of bribery, or  
 ' of menaces, without naming the persons who gave,  
 ' or the persons who received the bribes ; without  
 ' naming the persons who threatened, or the persons  
 ' who were threatened ; but, my Lords, is not this  
 ' the very reason why you joined the two in one  
 ' order ? You were sensible, that particular instances  
 ' could not be given, without naming the persons ;  
 ' and therefore, that the petitioners might not mis-  
 ' take your meaning, you ordered them to give you

‘ the persons names, as well as the instances ; and  
‘ if it be impossible for them to give any person’s  
‘ name, it is certainly equally impossible for them  
‘ to give you any instances either of bribery or  
‘ threatening ; but this being contrary to what they  
‘ have told you in their petition, I must therefore  
‘ conclude, that they know some of the person’s  
‘ names, but refuse to comply with your Lordship’s  
‘ order in that respect ; and indeed, they have taken  
‘ care, not to affirm positively in any part of the  
‘ answer now before us, that they do not know any  
‘ of the persons names ; for when they say, that  
‘ were they to act both as accusers and witnesses, it  
‘ would be impossible for them to inform your Lord-  
‘ ships, who were the persons, that in the course of  
‘ this examination, and from the testimony of fu-  
‘ ture evidences, may appear to have been concern-  
‘ ed in the abovementioned practices ; it cannot be  
‘ presumed, that they mean to say more than that  
‘ they do not know all the persons that, by such ex-  
‘ amination, may appear to have been concerned ;  
‘ but still they may know some of the persons, they  
‘ must know some of them, otherwise they could  
‘ not have said in their petition, that they were  
‘ ready to lay instances of illegal practices before  
‘ this house ; and therefore, it cannot be said, that  
‘ they have complied with your Lordship’s order,  
‘ so far as was possible for them to comply with the  
‘ same.

‘ I shall grant, my Lords, that it is not legal to  
‘ leave any regular troops in a place where an  
‘ election is to be, or to march any troops to such a  
‘ place, at the time of an election, unless there ap-  
‘ pear some very good reason for so doing : But if  
‘ tumults and riots should happen, or if the magi-  
‘ strates of the place should receive certain informa-  
‘ tion, that some such were intended, they might  
‘ certainly call in his Majesty’s troops, for the pre-  
‘ servation and quiet of his Majesty’s subjects ; and  
‘ if



‘ if any inquiry should be made into this affair,  
 ‘ which upon this very account, I wish there may,  
 ‘ it will be made appear, that there was very good  
 ‘ reason, for having that regiment near the place of  
 ‘ election, and that whatever they did, was done by  
 ‘ a proper and a legal order: But if it were other-  
 ‘ wise, if there was any thing illegal done by the  
 ‘ regiment, the officer who commanded that regi-  
 ‘ ment at the time, is the first person to answer for  
 ‘ it, and must be presumed guilty, till he can clear  
 ‘ himself, by shewing that he had orders from a su-  
 ‘ perior officer for what he did, and such orders too  
 ‘ as he could not discover to be illegal; for if the  
 ‘ orders should, upon the very face of them, appear  
 ‘ to be contrary to law, I do not think such orders  
 ‘ would justify the officer who obeyed them: The  
 ‘ petitioners therefore, ought certainly to have named  
 ‘ the officer who commanded that regiment, as one  
 ‘ of the persons guilty of the illegal practices they  
 ‘ complain of; and that it was in their power to do  
 ‘ this, is, I think, acknowledged of all sides. From  
 ‘ all which it is, in my opinion, evident, that the  
 ‘ petitioners have not in any respect, complied with  
 ‘ your Lordships order; and therefore you must  
 ‘ certainly agree with the noble Lord, in the reso-  
 ‘ lution he has been pleased to propose.

‘ But now; my Lords, as some things have been  
 ‘ thrown out, even in this debate, against the order  
 ‘ agreed to by this house, I hope your Lordships  
 ‘ will give me leave to add a few words in vindica-  
 ‘ tion of your order. I shall agree with the noble  
 ‘ Lord, that, by our law, no man is to be loaded  
 ‘ with what is properly called an accusation, without  
 ‘ the oath of some witness; but then, before that  
 ‘ accusation, which at common law is called an in-  
 ‘ dictment, can be drawn up; before any witness  
 ‘ can be examined, the person’s name, and likewise  
 ‘ the particular crime with which he is charged, must  
 ‘ be made known to the court, or to some person

‘ belonging to the court, and intrusted by the court  
‘ for that purpose ; upon this information, the in-  
‘ dictment is formed, and the witnesses are examin-  
‘ ed before the grand jury, in order to their finding  
‘ the bill: This is the course at common law, and  
‘ this is a method, which ought to be followed in all  
‘ courts, and in all cases relating to the punishment  
‘ of crimes. This is the very method which this  
‘ house now desires to follow ; we only want such an  
‘ information, as may enable us to form or draw up  
‘ an accusation, and then we are to examine wit-  
‘ nesses, to see if there is any ground for the accusa-  
‘ tion, to see if there is any reason for proceeding  
‘ farther in the prosecution.

‘ With respect to inquiries into crimes or misde-  
‘ meanors, either before this house or the other, I  
‘ do not, my Lords, remember to have heard, that  
‘ there was ever any such inquiry set up in either  
‘ house, unless where the persons were named, and  
‘ the practices particularly set forth, by those who  
‘ desired the inquiry ; or that both were so particu-  
‘ larly described, that every member might easily and  
‘ certainly judge, who were the persons pointed at,  
‘ and what were the crimes they were to be accused  
‘ of: I have often heard it said that comparisons go  
‘ upon all four, but the comparison made between  
‘ the inquiry now proposed, and the inquiry lately  
‘ made, relating to the *South-sea* company, is a com-  
‘ parison, which is so far from going upon all four,  
‘ that it has not so much as one leg to put to the  
‘ ground. In the *South-sea* inquiry, the disposal of  
‘ the estates of those who were the directors of that  
‘ company in the year 1720, was a fact particularly  
‘ mentioned, and the fact proposed to be inquired  
‘ into : and as that money was under the manage-  
‘ ment, and must have been disposed of by those  
‘ who were afterwards directors of that company,  
‘ if any frauds had been committed in the disposal  
‘ of that money, they were the only persons that  
‘ could

‘ could be guilty, the only persons that could be prosecuted, and their names were well known ; so that in that case, the names of the persons were known, and the particular instance, the particular fact to be inquired into, was mentioned in the very resolution of this house ; and in that case it happened, that after we had given the *South-sea* company a great deal of trouble, after we had given several private gentlemen a great deal of trouble, we at last found we had proceeded to an inquiry a little too rashly, and without any solid grounds ; which I am convinced, would be the event of the inquiry now proposed, if we should enter upon it without any farther information than we have at present.

‘ With respect, my Lords, to what has been said about the duty of a coroner, I must be of opinion, that if persons of the best character should come and inform him, that a murder had been committed, the body buried, and the murder concealed, and yet should refuse to give him the least hint of the persons supposed to be guilty ; or the least circumstance, by which the coroner could judge of the grounds of their suspicion ; I say, my Lords, that if a coroner should, upon such a general information, order the body to be taken up and give the relations and friends of the deceased a great deal of trouble, he would be very much blamed ; and would have great reason to be ashamed of his weakness and credulity ; if at last it should appear, that the deceased had died a fair and a natural death : Nay, even tho’ his informers had told him in general, that they had heard the deceased was certainly murdered by poison, without telling him by whom, at what time, or in what manner administered, such a general circumstance would no way excuse the coroner’s officious inquiry.

‘ If it were possible, my Lords, to judge, in the present case, of the truth of facts, without knowing the names of the persons said to have been concerned in those facts ; then the latter part of your Lordships order would have been useless, and consequently, would in so far have been improper ; but in the case before us, without knowing the persons names, said to have been concerned in the practices complained of, it is impossible for us, upon our own judgment, to determine, whether we have any ground to presume that those facts were really committed, because it is upon the characters and circumstances of the persons said to be concerned, that our judgment must in this case principally depend ; and I am sure, without a strong presumption of the truth of the facts complained of, it would be wrong in us to enter into an inquiry ; This I take to be the true reason, why we desired to have the persons names, why we agreed to that order as it now stands ; and therefore I cannot see how any Lord who was for that order, can be for our proceeding to an inquiry into this affair, till that order be fully complied with.

‘ There is no man, my Lords, can have a greater regard for the noble Lords petitioners, than I have ; no man can have a greater regard for their opinion, as to the veracity or the probability of what they relate, than I shall have upon this and every other occasion ; but I hope they will excuse me, for not allowing my behaviour in this house to be directed by their opinion : If they have a mind that I should be of their opinion, if they have a mind that I should believe the facts they relate, as their relation does not proceed from their own knowledge, they must give me the particular reasons, they must give me the particular circumstances, upon which they have founded their opinion, as to the truth or probability of what they relate ; then, and not till then, I shall be able to  
‘ form

‘ form some opinion of my own; and till I can  
‘ form an opinion of my own, till I can convince  
‘ myself, that there is at least a high probability  
‘ that some illegal practices were made use of at  
‘ the late election of Peers for *Scotland*, I cannot  
‘ agree to our entering upon an inquiry into that  
‘ affair.

‘ I hope, my Lords, I have as great a regard  
‘ for the honour of this house, as any Lord can  
‘ have; but for this very reason, I cannot yet agree  
‘ to any inquiry into this affair: I think it inconsistent  
‘ with the honour and dignity of this house, to enter  
‘ rashly into any measure; I think it inconsistent  
‘ with that regard we ought to have for the ease  
‘ and tranquility of the subject, to enter into a so-  
‘ lemn inquiry into supposed crimes, without very  
‘ sufficient grounds to suspect, that some such were  
‘ really committed; for by all such inquiries, some  
‘ particular men must be put to great trouble and  
‘ expence, and by raising a general ferment, the  
‘ tranquility of the whole nation will be disturbed.  
‘ I likewise hope, my Lords, I have as great a ve-  
‘ neration for the independency of Parliament as  
‘ any man; but as we ought to be independent of  
‘ the crown or the ministers, so we ought not to  
‘ depend upon the opinion of any number of sub-  
‘ jects, nor ought we to depend upon vulgar rumours,  
‘ or general clamours: I do not know, that there  
‘ is in the present case, any general clamour for an  
‘ inquiry, at least I have never heard of any such;  
‘ but if there were, we are not for that reason to  
‘ proceed to an inquiry: No, my Lords, we ought  
‘ coolly to examine the grounds, the foundations of  
‘ that clamour, and if we find it has been artfully  
‘ raised, without any solid foundation, we ought to  
‘ despise it; for if neglected and contemned, it will  
‘ sink, it will evanish of course. I beg pardon, for  
‘ taking up so much of your Lordships time, about  
‘ what I really think is not the question before us at  
‘ present;



‘ present ; but I have so great a regard for the honour of this house, that I thought myself obliged to say something by way of reply, in vindication of an order of this house, so solemnly agreed to ; and therefore I hope your Lordships will excuse me.’

**Question.** The Question was then put for a resolution, according to the motion above-mentioned, which was agreed to upon a division, by 90 to 47.

**Speakers.** This motion was made by the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and was supported by the Duke of *Newcastle* and the Lord *Hervey* ; and it was opposed by the Lord *Bathurst*, the Earl of *Chesterfield*, the Lord *Gower*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, and the Earl of *Stratford*.

Against this resolution, the following protest was entered upon the journals, *viz.*

*Dissentient.*

*Somerſet, Tadcaſter, Maynard.*  
**Proteſt.** I. **B**Ecauſe it was agreed in the debate, conformable to the rules of reaſon, that no impoſſibility was required from the Lords petitioners ; and tho’ we allow that they have not literally complied with the order, yet we think the aſſertion in their answer, that it is impoſſible for them to inform the houſe who are the perſons, that in the courſe of the examination, and from the teſtimony of future evidences, may appear to have been concerned, was ſufficient to ſatisfy the houſe, that they have not wilfully diſobeyed the order.

And from the nature of things, we conceive it impracticable for the Lords petitioners, to name all the perſons, who may be concerned in thoſe illegal proceed-

proceedings; for although the offers of places, pensions and other gratuities, must be presumed to come from persons in power, yet such offers may reasonably be supposed, to be conveyed by under-agents; and we must also observe, that if those under agents should be publicly named before examination, they may either be prevailed upon to abscond, or to take the whole upon themselves, to screen offenders, of higher rank.

We must farther declare, it is our opinion, that such corrupt and dark designs as are specified in the answer, may have been carried on with that secrecy and dexterity, that altho' a moral certainty may appear, of their having been executed, the persons concerned in the execution may never be discovered; yet this good effect might have arisen from the inquiry, that the legislature would have found means to prevent such pernicious practices for the future; and even in that case, the Lords petitioners, by bringing this affair before the house, would have done a real service to the Peerage of *Scotland*, to this high court of judicature, and to the whole united kingdom.

2. Because we can no way conceive, that the going on upon this examination, without having the names of the persons produced, could be attended with any possible injustice to, or hardship upon, those who might afterwards be named by the evidence; on the contrary we are persuaded, that such persons would have an advantage, which could not happen in any other course of proceeding; the whole matter of the accusation would lie open to them, the witnesses against them will be known, who could not afterwards be suffered to vary from their testimony, and the house would in justice allow such persons a full time to answer the accusation, and to bring up witnesses (if necessary) to prove their innocence.

Neither

Neither is this looked upon as an accusation at present; for (as it was justly observed) there are no accusers, nor persons accused; but we apprehend it to be the most proper subject for a Parliamentary inquiry, that can possibly be brought before this house.

3. However it may be necessary in the course of other proceedings, whether upon impeachments or appeals brought before this house, that all the persons concerned should be named, we can by no means think it necessary upon an inquiry, no final sentence being then to be given, and those rules which are consistent with justice in the former cases, must, in our opinion, tend to obstruct all justice in the latter: We cannot conceive that an innocent person, who should happen to be named in the course of such an examination, can possibly be deprived of the means of making his innocence appear: But we can well foresee, that guilty persons (and those probably of the highest rank) may escape by such a method; which imposing an impossibility on the informants, must, as we apprehend, tend to defeat all parliamentary inquiries, and therefore could not be, in our opinion, within the intention of the order.

4. Because the matters specified in the answer are of such a nature, as seem only proper to be examined in this house; and had the Lords petitioners sought a remedy any where else, they might have been justly censured: We apprehend therefore, that the pinning them down to the precise words of the order may be attended with this fatal consequence, that all parliamentary inquiries may be rendered much more difficult hereafter; which may probably give such encouragement to corrupt ministers, that they may be prompted to make the most dangerous attempts upon the constitution, and hope to come off with impunity: Such apprehensions naturally suggest the melancholly reflections

reflections, that our posterity may see the time when some of those Lords, who sit upon a more precarious foot than the rest of the house, having, through motives of virtue and honour, opposed the evil designs of some future minister, for that, and that alone, may be excluded at an ensuing election; and though the whole world may be sensible of the cause of their exclusion, no remedy may be found, but their case may become a subject of national concern, indignation and resentment.

<i>Scarfdale,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Bruce,</i>	<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Beaufort,</i>
<i>Bolton,</i>	<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Denbigh,</i>
<i>Warrington,</i>	<i>Thanet,</i>	<i>Cobham,</i>
<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Bridgwater,</i>
<i>Suffolk,</i>	<i>Aylesford,</i>	<i>Anglesea,</i>
<i>Shaftsbury,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Chesterfield,</i>	<i>Huntingdon,</i>	<i>Haverham,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Masham,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Grabame,</i>	<i>Macclesfield,</i>
<i>Foley,</i>		

Immediately after this resolution was agreed to, a Motion for motion was made to order, ' That the petition be dismissing the petition  
' dismissed.'

The argument for the motion was in substance as follows, viz.

' My Lords, When the petition now before us Argument  
' was first presented, I was of opinion, that it was for the mo-  
' conceived in such general and obscure terms, as not tion.  
' to deserve, on in its own account the least counte-  
' nance or consideration from this house; and I am  
' persuaded it was not on account of any matter con-  
' tained in the petition, that your Lordships did not  
' reject it immediately upon its being presented. The  
' regard

' regard you have been pleased to shew it, was  
 ' certainly on account of the noble Peers who sign it,  
 ' and in this I heartily concurred, because for all of  
 ' them I have the greatest esteem: For this reason  
 ' your Lordships were pleased to indulge them with  
 ' an opportunity to explain themselves, and to clear  
 ' up that obscurity in which their petition was in-  
 ' volved. This indulgence they have made use of,  
 ' and in obedience to your Lordships order, they  
 ' have endeavoured to explain themselves; but that  
 ' explanation is, in my opinion, as general, and as  
 ' obscure as the petition which is thereby intended to  
 ' be explained: Nay, in my opinion, the petition,  
 ' and the explanation, or answer to your Lordships  
 ' last order, seem to be a little inconsistent; for in  
 ' the petition they complain of undue practices  
 ' and say, that they were ready to lay before us  
 ' instances and proofs of those undue practices; yet  
 ' when we desire them to give us some of the in-  
 ' stances of those practices, and gave them all the  
 ' time they could desire for that purpose, they  
 ' give us no one instance of any undue or ille-  
 ' gal practices, they give us only some general  
 ' surmises, and tell us they cannot be more particular  
 ' without stating themselves as accusers or witnesses;  
 ' so that their complaint is now as obscure as it was  
 ' at first, and there is now less reason to believe that  
 ' there ever were any such practices as they com-  
 ' plain of.

' Notwithstanding the obscurity of the petition,  
 ' notwithstanding the inability of the petitioners to  
 ' give us any instances of the illegal practices they  
 ' complain of, yet, my Lords, the practices so ob-  
 ' scurely hinted at, seem to me to be of such a dan-  
 ' gerous nature, and to affect the honour of this  
 ' house in such a tender point, that I should readily  
 ' agree to the inquiring into them, if from the very  
 ' nature of the thing, there did not appear to me  
 ' sufficient ground to believe that no such practices  
 ' were



‘ were ever made use of ; for if it could be pre-  
‘ sumed, that any such undue methods or illegal  
‘ practices were made use of at the last election, that  
‘ presumption must arise from the characters and  
‘ circumstances of the persons chosen compared with  
‘ the characters and circumstances of the unsuccessful  
‘ candidates : If the sixteen noble Lords chosen  
‘ to represent the Peerage of *Scotland*, or any  
‘ of them were persons of a bad character, persons  
‘ of inferior families or fortunes, or persons of no  
‘ merit, it might then be supposed, that some un-  
‘ due methods had been made use of, to get such per-  
‘ sons returned as the representatives of the Peerage  
‘ of *Scotland* in this house : But this is not the case at  
‘ present ; the noble Peers who are chosen, and  
‘ who in consequence of that choice, have now seats  
‘ in this house, are noblemen of as great families,  
‘ and of as large properties as any in *Scotland* ; and  
‘ as to their personal characters and merit, there are  
‘ none of them that have ever been in the least sus-  
‘ pected of any disaffection to his Majesty’s govern-  
‘ ment or family, and the qualifications and merit  
‘ of every one of them are so well known, that it is  
‘ needless for me to enlarge upon them : Nay, I  
‘ will avoid it, because they are present ; for I very  
‘ well know, that even the most just and the most  
‘ elegant encomiums are offensive to the ears of per-  
‘ sons of real merit, and that the more merit they  
‘ have, the more offensive always will that praise be  
‘ which is uttered in their presence.

‘ Thus, my Lords, as no presumption of any il-  
‘ legal practices having been committed, can be  
‘ drawn from the nature of the case before us, and as  
‘ the petitioners, notwithstanding the indulgence  
‘ granted them, have not been able to give us any  
‘ instance of such practices, nor even any surmises,  
‘ but such as are so general, that they cannot give  
‘ the least foundation for any accusation, much less  
‘ can they give a foundation for your Lordships to  
‘ bring

‘ bring the character of any person in question ;  
‘ therefore I must conclude that no such practices  
‘ were committed and the necessary consequence  
‘ of this must be to dismiss the petition.

‘ But farther, my Lords, the petitioners do not  
‘ even seem willing to comply with your Lordships  
‘ order : for tho’ they could not, perhaps, have men-  
‘ tioned all the persons, that might, from the exa-  
‘ mination of witnesses, have appeared guilty of the  
‘ practices they complain of, yet surely, if any such  
‘ practices were made use of, some persons must be  
‘ suspected at least, to have been guilty of them, and  
‘ the petitioners must have heard who they were that  
‘ were suspected to have been guilty ; the names of  
‘ those persons the petitioners might, and certainly  
‘ would have given us, if they had intended to have  
‘ complied with your Lordships order ; and their not  
‘ doing so, I must look on as a contempt of, or at  
‘ least, an unwillingness to comply with your Lord-  
‘ ships order, the natural consequence of which must  
‘ in all cases be, to dismiss the petition of those who  
‘ shew any such contempt or unwillingness. This  
‘ the petitioners were sensible of, and therefore they,  
‘ in the answer now before us, endeavour to excuse  
‘ themselves, by saying, that they never intended  
‘ to state themselves as accusers of any person what-  
‘ ever : Upon which I must observe, that if they  
‘ do not intend to state themselves as accusers, I do  
‘ not see how we can state ourselves as judges ; for  
‘ we cannot certainly act the part both of accusers  
‘ and judges ; nor ought we, I think, in any affair,  
‘ to act the part of grand jury and judge, which  
‘ would really be the case in the present affair, if we  
‘ should first examine witnesses towards finding out  
‘ who are the persons guilty, and then sit as judges  
‘ to try, and pass sentence upon the persons, a-  
‘ gainst whom any suspicion of guilt shall, by such  
‘ inquiry, be made appear. From all which, my  
‘ Lords,

‘ Lords, I must think, that we neither can nor ought  
‘ to proceed farther upon the petition before us ; and  
‘ unless your Lordships have a mind to submit to  
‘ have the orders of this house contemned, or at least  
‘ explained in such a manner as petitioners shall think  
‘ fit, I am sure you ought to dismiss it ; therefore  
‘ I must move your Lordships to order, That the  
‘ petition be dismissed.

To this it was answered in substance as follows,  
*viz.*

‘ My Lords, against the motions formerly made Answer.  
‘ in the affair before us, I spoke with surprise, but  
‘ against that now made, I speak with concern :  
‘ The present motion does not indeed surprise me,  
‘ for it is what I expected, and what I easily perceiv-  
‘ ed was intended by the motions already made ;  
‘ and as they were agreed to by this house, I am  
‘ now obliged to think they were right: But the af-  
‘ fair in hand, the petition now before us, is a mat-  
‘ ter of so great consequence to the honour and dig-  
‘ nity of this house, to the very being of our consti-  
‘ tution, that it is with the deepest concern, it is  
‘ with the deepest sorrow, I hear a motion made in  
‘ this house for dismissing such a petition ; and that  
‘ upon no other foundation, but because the petition-  
‘ ers have not complied with an order of this house  
‘ in a particular, in which they have, I think, very  
‘ evidently shewn it was impossible for them to com-  
‘ ply : And my sorrow is still heightened by what  
‘ I have observed in the debate ; for every Lord  
‘ who has spoke upon one side in this affair, has  
‘ made use of arguments to shew that it is im-  
‘ proper or unnecessary, for this house to enter into  
‘ any enquiry about the illegal practices complain-  
‘ ed of, so that if the motion now made be com-  
‘ plied with, it is the last time I expect to hear  
‘ any more of the affair now before us in this house ;  
K k ‘ and

‘ and therefore I hope your Lordships will excuse me, if I repeat and endeavour to enforce some of the Arguments made use of for shewing the necessity, as well as regularity, of making a strict inquiry into this affair, and to answer some of the objections started upon this occasion.

‘ By the arguments made use of upon this occasion, it really seems to be the opinion of some Lords, that this house ought never to inquire into any illegal practices, if by such inquiry an impeachment, or any other Parliamentary proceeding, may become necessary for the punishment of private men, because we are not, it is said, to state ourselves both as accusers and judges, we are not to act the part both of grand jury and judge : But this argument, as it has no foundation either in law or the custom of Parliament, will never, I hope, prevail. It is well known, my Lords, that by an inquiry, we neither state ourselves as accusers, or judges ; we neither act the part of grand jury or judge ; we act no part but that of the guardians of the lives, the liberties, and the rights of our fellow-subjects ; and this part I hope this house will never refuse to act upon any occasion. If, upon any such inquiry, a prosecution becomes necessary, the custom has always been for some Lord to stand up in his place, and impeach in form those who are suspected to be the guilty criminals, or otherwise we desire a conference with the other house, and at that conference we communicate to them what discoveries we have made by our inquiry ; whereupon the other house becomes the accuser, they act the part of the grand jury, and then we assume the character of judges. This is the method of proceeding in Parliament, and this method has been so often practised, and is so well known, that I am surprised to hear any such argument made use of, against an inquiry into the illegal practices now complained of.

‘ As we may inquire into any sort of illegal practices  
 ‘ without stating ourselves as accusers or judges, so  
 ‘ an inquiry may, in this house, as well as in the  
 ‘ other, proceed from, or be founded upon com-  
 ‘ mon fame, upon the motion of any member when  
 ‘ seconded, or upon the petition of the sufferer, by  
 ‘ such practices. I shall grant, my Lords, that we  
 ‘ are not to depend on, or to be directed by vulgar  
 ‘ rumours or general clamours; because illegal prac-  
 ‘ tices are generally reported and loudly exclaimed  
 ‘ against, we are not to conclude that they are cer-  
 ‘ tainly true; but I will say, my Lords, that a ge-  
 ‘ neral clamour is not only a foundation for an in-  
 ‘ quiry, but such a foundation as we are obliged,  
 ‘ both in honour and duty, to lay hold on; and in  
 ‘ that inquiry we ought first to examine strictly into  
 ‘ the truth of the practices complained of, and pu-  
 ‘ nish severely the offenders, if the general report be  
 ‘ found to be true; but if we find it to be intirely  
 ‘ groundless, we ought then to inquire into the au-  
 ‘ thors of it, in order to punish those who disturb  
 ‘ the nation by such artful and groundless reports.  
 ‘ General clamours ought never to be contemned,  
 ‘ the people ought to be satisfied; it is one of the  
 ‘ chief ends of our meeting in this house, and in such  
 ‘ cases there is no way of satisfying the people, but  
 ‘ by a strict inquiry, and a severe punishment upon  
 ‘ the guilty; for guilty persons there must necessarily  
 ‘ be, upon all such occasions, either of one side or  
 ‘ the other.

‘ That inquiries have been set up in this house up-  
 ‘ on a bare motion, is not to be controverted, be-  
 ‘ cause the inquiry already mentioned, in relation to  
 ‘ the *South-sea* company, had no foundation but a  
 ‘ bare motion, which was indeed supported by a  
 ‘ general clamour of unfair practices, but was with-  
 ‘ out any particular suggestion of fraud: And by  
 ‘ that inquiry, my Lords, some very odd practices



‘ did appear ; but the inquiry’s ending as it did, was  
‘ very far from proceeding from our having gone  
‘ rashly into it, but from our not going so far as we  
‘ ought to have gone ; for we found the affair we  
‘ had resolved to inquire into, so blended with the  
‘ other affairs of that company, that there was no  
‘ getting to the bottom of it, without a general  
‘ search into all the affairs of that company, from the  
‘ year 1720 : This general search, your Lordship’s  
‘ must remember, was proposed, and if had been  
‘ agreed to, I am convinced that inquiry would not  
‘ have ended so smoothly as it did. But that there  
‘ was any thing more particular, either with respect  
‘ to the thing to be inquired into, or the persons who  
‘ might suffer by it in that inquiry, than in what is  
‘ now proposed, I am surpris’d to hear ; for as to  
‘ the thing to be inquired into, it is very certain,  
‘ that there was not one instance of fraud, or of any  
‘ thing that was illegal, so much as mentioned :  
‘ The only thing proposed to be inquired into, was  
‘ the disposal of a sum of money ; and if the propo-  
‘ sition now made had been only to inquire into the  
‘ late election of Peers for Scotland, without men-  
‘ tioning any illegal practices, it would have been in  
‘ this respect no more general than that inquiry ; but  
‘ as it stands at present, it is certainly much more  
‘ particular.

‘ Then as to the persons, it is very certain, no  
‘ man was in that case particularly named or par-  
‘ ticularly described ; there were many others, who  
‘ might have been concerned in the frauds beside the  
‘ directors ; some of their superiors, some of those  
‘ who direct the directors ; one of the directors of  
‘ the nation might perhaps have been found to have  
‘ been concerned ; and if any frauds had been dis-  
‘ covered, it would very probably have been found,  
‘ that some inferior persons, some of the servants of  
‘ that company, had been likewise concerned, for  
‘ directors seldom act without tools ; and it would  
‘ have

‘ have as probably been found, that some of the directors were intirely innocent, unless this house had resolved to make another precedent of doing justice by the lump, which I hope we shall never again have any occasion for ; so that there is not the least pretence to say, that the persons, who might appear to be guilty, were in that case any way more particularly known than they are in the present : On the contrary, the persons guilty in the present case, if there are any, are much more particularly pointed at : In the present case, there could be no inferior persons concerned, they must be persons of some rank in the world ; some of them must be persons who have a great deal more of his Majesty’s ear than they deserve, and much more than this house ought to permit them to enjoy : It cannot be supposed that such mean persons, or such a number of persons, were concerned in the illegal practices now complained of, as must have been supposed to have been concerned in the management and direction of the South-sea company’s affairs ; and therefore it must be granted, that the persons who may, by an inquiry, be found to be guilty, are much more particularly pointed to in the present case, than they were in the other.

‘ That Parliamentary inquiries have been often founded on a petition from the persons injured, will not, I am sure, be controverted. The inquiry into the *South-sea* company’s affairs, after the famous year 1720 ; the late inquiries into the affairs of the *Charitable Corporation*, and the *York-Buildings* company, are so many recent testimonies of this custom : But, my Lords, was it ever before desired or insisted on, that the petitioners should give particular instances of the frauds or illegal practices they complained of ? Was it ever insisted on, that they should give the names of the particular persons they supposed to be guilty ?

‘ No, my Lords, it never was; and shall the petitioners, in the present case, because they are men  
‘ of as high quality, and as much injured as any  
‘ that ever presented a petition to Parliament;  
‘ because the injury they complain of, is of as  
‘ high and as dangerous a nature, as any that was  
‘ ever complained of to Parliament; and because  
‘ the practices they complain of, are as generally  
‘ believed, and as much exclaimed against as ever  
‘ any practices were in this, or any other nation;  
‘ shall they, I say, for these reasons be obliged to  
‘ do more than was ever desired of any petitioners?  
‘ Shall their petition be rejected, unless they will  
‘ subject themselves to the trouble, the expence and  
‘ the danger, of becoming the actual accusers of  
‘ those they suspect to be guilty?

‘ What is at present meant by our own judgment,  
‘ or our own opinion, I cannot comprehend; I hope  
‘ every one of your Lordships will vote in this affair as you do in every other, according to your  
‘ own judgment, and not according to the judgment  
‘ or direction of any other person, either without  
‘ doors or within. What some Lords may suppose  
‘ to be necessary, towards forming a judgment of  
‘ their own in the present case, I do not know; but  
‘ I am very sure that in private life, if a gentleman  
‘ should relate a fact, and say he had it from such  
‘ authority as he could depend on, it would not be  
‘ consistent with common decency to tell him, I can  
‘ give no credit to what you relate; nay, I will not  
‘ so much as be at the pains to inquire into the truth  
‘ of it, unless you give me your authority. Consider, my Lords, what are the authorities to be given in the present case, and the only authorities  
‘ that can be given. The noble Lords, the petitioners, have told us, that they have certain information of undue and illegal practices made use of,  
‘ towards engaging Peers to vote for a list at the last  
‘ election: The only authority they can give for  
‘ this

‘ this allegation; is the persons who told them so,  
‘ and those are the very persons they desire to have  
‘ examined at your Lordships bar: Surely your  
‘ Lordships would not have them to give you that  
‘ authority at present, you would not have them  
‘ now to give you the names of their informers;  
‘ that would indeed be a discovery of evidence, the  
‘ most open that was ever made, and more open  
‘ than was ever desired from any plaintiff in this  
‘ world: This therefore is not surely what the noble  
‘ Lords would have, towards assisting them to form  
‘ a judgment of their own in the present case; and  
‘ yet if this be not what they want, I really cannot  
‘ comprehend what they would have.

‘ In all cases, my Lords, where a parliamentary  
‘ inquiry has been petitioned for, the members ne-  
‘ ver had, nor ever desired any thing towards form-  
‘ ing a judgment, Whether the inquiry was neces-  
‘ sary or no, but only the character and credit of  
‘ the petitioners, and the nature of the case, as it  
‘ was represented in the petition? In the present  
‘ case, the character and credit of the petitioners,  
‘ are as much to be depended on, as the character  
‘ and credit of any that ever were petitioners in ei-  
‘ ther house of parliament; and what they relate is  
‘ rendered still more probable, by the very nature  
‘ of the thing, and by the experience of past elec-  
‘ tions, ever since the union. I have a great regard  
‘ for the sixteen noble Lords, who now represent the  
‘ Peerage of *Scotland* in this house; I know they  
‘ are noblemen of great worth, and of as great fa-  
‘ milies and properties as any in *Scotland*: But this  
‘ is not the case in question; and if we look back  
‘ upon all former elections in *Scotland*, we must  
‘ think it very strange, that the sixteen Peers cho-  
‘ sen, have always been of a ministerial complexion,  
‘ almost without exception; and if the complexion  
‘ of any of them altered, during the continuance of  
‘ the Parliament, we have always found them left

‘ out at the next election ; nay, upon all changes of  
 ‘ ministers, we have found the election of Peers in  
 ‘ *Scotland* take a new and a general turn : This could  
 ‘ not, in my opinion, have happened without some-  
 ‘ thing of a very extraordinary ministerial influence  
 ‘ on that election ; and this extraordinary influence  
 ‘ cannot be obtained, without some undue methods  
 ‘ and illegal practices : Nay, it is natural to sup-  
 ‘ pose, that if he is not a man of more virtue than  
 ‘ ministers usually have, a minister will always make  
 ‘ use of the power and the favours of the crown,  
 ‘ which are at his disposal, to get such a set of Peers  
 ‘ returned from *Scotland* as he shall approve of ; so  
 ‘ that from the nature of the thing, as well as from  
 ‘ past experience, we have all the reason in the world  
 ‘ to believe, there have been some illegal practices  
 ‘ made use of at the last election ; and as the honour  
 ‘ of this house, as well as the preservation of the  
 ‘ constitution, is deeply concerned in preventing such  
 ‘ practices ; as such practices cannot be prevented  
 ‘ by our ordinary courts of law, an inquiry into  
 ‘ this affair is now, I think, become absolutely ne-  
 ‘ cessary.

‘ As I have been surpris’d at many things I have  
 ‘ heard in the course of our debates on this affair,  
 ‘ so, my Lords, I am not a little surpris’d at hear-  
 ‘ ing it still insisted on, that the petitioners have  
 ‘ given us no instances of any illegal practices, nor  
 ‘ any information but what we knew before. Could  
 ‘ any of your Lordships, could any man breathing,  
 ‘ suppose, that men would have been so audacious  
 ‘ as to make use of his Majesty’s name to over-awe  
 ‘ the election of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*? Or  
 ‘ that they would have dared to say, that his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty ever intermeddled in elections, or approved  
 ‘ of one list, or of one candidate more than another?  
 ‘ Is not this an instance of the most dangerous and  
 ‘ the most criminal nature? Threats of private ma-  
 ‘ lice or revenge might have been used, and even  
 ‘ the



‘ the making of such would have been a high misdemeanor ; but in matters of election, to threaten  
‘ royal resentment, is, in my opinion, high-treason.  
‘ Such a practice I cannot but speak of with awe,  
‘ because of the great name that was used ; but it is  
‘ a practice I will speak of with indignation, because  
‘ of the great name that was thereby abused : To  
‘ make use of the King’s name, for supporting or  
‘ recommending a list made up by ministers, was a  
‘ most abominable and a most treasonable practice :  
‘ His majesty’s name ought never to be mentioned  
‘ in any thing, but what is as pure and as incorrupt-  
‘ ed as the gold on which his image is stamp’t ; and  
‘ to mix any brass, or any ministerial metal, with  
‘ what bears the sacred name of Majesty, is certainly  
‘ a most heinous crime, it is the most treasonable  
‘ sort of false coining : The honour and dignity of  
‘ this house call upon us for an inquiry, the preservation of the constitution, and the general voice of  
‘ the people call upon us for an inquiry ; the whole  
‘ Peerage of *Scotland*, which has been so much injured, calls upon us for an inquiry ; and this instance shews us, that if we have a due respect for  
‘ the honour and safety of the King, which all your  
‘ Lordships certainly have, we must immediately  
‘ enter upon an inquiry.

‘ If any undue influence was made use of upon  
‘ an election, it was very natural, my Lords, to  
‘ suppose that it chiefly consisted in bribery ; but  
‘ could any man suppose, that the offices and employments under the crown, or the munificence of  
‘ the crown, which ought only to be the reward of  
‘ virtue and public service, would have been made  
‘ use of to corrupt voters at an election for Parliament ? Or that the money and estate of the crown,  
‘ that which ought to be applied only to the support  
‘ of the honour and dignity of the royal Family,  
‘ would have been converted to the destruction of  
‘ the constitution ? This is not only bribery, but the  
‘ most

‘ most treasonable, the most terrible sort of bribery.  
 ‘ In this respect then, the petitioners have told us  
 ‘ what we did not know, what none of us could sup-  
 ‘ pose; and of this they have given us instances in as  
 ‘ particular a manner as it was possible, without a  
 ‘ discovery of evidence, or stating themselves as ac-  
 ‘ cusers of particular persons, neither of which was  
 ‘ ever desired of those who petitioned for a parlia-  
 ‘ mentary inquiry.

‘ The grievance now complained of my Lords,  
 ‘ is far from being new or unexpected; even at the  
 ‘ time of the *Union* it was apprehended, that the e-  
 ‘ lection of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, would al-  
 ‘ ways be under the direction of the ministers for  
 ‘ the time being: What has since happened has suf-  
 ‘ ficiently shewn, that those apprehensions were not  
 ‘ without foundation; and if this petition should be  
 ‘ rejected, it may be expected, that the election of  
 ‘ the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, will soon come to be  
 ‘ like the election of our Bishops; a *Conge d’ Elire*  
 ‘ will issue, and will as punctually be complied with,  
 ‘ in the one case as in the other. But the condition  
 ‘ of the Peers for *Scotland*, will be much worse than  
 ‘ that of the reverend bench; for the reverend Lords  
 ‘ the Prelates, have their seats in this house for life,  
 ‘ even the King cannot take that honour from them;  
 ‘ whereas the Peers for *Scotland* must always depend  
 ‘ upon the ministers, for the continuance of their  
 ‘ seats in this house, and will be stript of that ho-  
 ‘ nour as soon as the Parliament is dissolved, if they  
 ‘ ever refuse to vote according to ministerial direc-  
 ‘ tion.

‘ A parliamentary inquiry does not seem to me,  
 ‘ my Lords, to be attended with any such grievous  
 ‘ consequences as has been represented. It may, ’tis  
 ‘ true, put some private gentlemen to some trouble  
 ‘ and expence; but as the safety of their country is,  
 ‘ in such inquiries, generally very much concerned,  
 ‘ I am sure it is in this, therefore, that trouble and  
 ‘ expence

‘ expence ought not, I am persuaded it will not be  
‘ regarded: And as to the putting the nation in a  
‘ ferment, I am sure in the present case, our going  
‘ upon an inquiry will put the nation into no fer-  
‘ ment; but our refusing to make any inquiry, will  
‘ certainly put the whole nation, and particularly  
‘ *Scotland*, into a very great ferment. We ought  
‘ to consider, my Lords, the danger the whole na-  
‘ tion was exposed to, by a most unjust rebellion  
‘ raised in that country against his late Majesty; but  
‘ if the Peerage of that country should find them-  
‘ selves oppressed by a minister, and should find  
‘ that no justice could be expected from this  
‘ house, it may raise another rebellion, or rather  
‘ an insurrection, in that country; and as they  
‘ would then have truth and justice on their side, it  
‘ would naturally procure them the hearts of all the  
‘ people of *England*, and, I am afraid, most of the  
‘ hands.

‘ If the petition now before us, my Lords, were  
‘ a petition that regarded only the rights or the pri-  
‘ vileges of the petitioners, their not having com-  
‘ plied with your Lordships order, in the most full  
‘ and ample manner, might perhaps be a reason  
‘ for your dismissing the petition; but as it regards  
‘ the honour and dignity of this house, as much  
‘ as it does the rights and privileges of the peti-  
‘ tioners, your Lordships ought not, you cannot  
‘ I think, in honour dismiss the petition, on ac-  
‘ count of their not having complied fully and ex-  
‘ actly with your order: On the contrary, you  
‘ ought in my opinion, to retain it, that it may  
‘ serve as the ground-work of an inquiry; and  
‘ though you cannot now have from the petition-  
‘ ers all the information you desire, you ought, in  
‘ the carrying on of that inquiry, to take all the  
‘ information and assistance they can and are willing  
‘ to give you, with respect to the witnesses it may  
‘ be

' be proper to examine upon that inquiry. If, by  
 ' this method, any illegal practices should be disco-  
 ' vered; if, by their assistance, any great criminals  
 ' should be brought to condign punishment, and  
 ' thereby the honour and dignity of this house vin-  
 ' dicated, and the independency of Parliament se-  
 ' cured, they will highly deserve, not only your  
 ' Lordships excuse, for their non-compliance with  
 ' your last order, but your Lordships thanks for the  
 ' service they have done to their country; and there-  
 ' fore I hope the noble Lord will wave his motion,  
 ' and let us proceed to the appointing a day to in-  
 ' quire into the illegal practices complained of, by  
 ' the whole nation in general, as well as by the pe-  
 ' titioners in particular.

The reply was as follows, *viz.*

Reply. ' According to the Method we have lately fal-  
 ' len into, I am afraid, my Lords, we shall ne-  
 ' ver be able to come to the end of any debate.  
 ' If, upon every new motion in any affair, Lords  
 ' shall take the liberty to enter into former debates,  
 ' to resume all the arguments they have, upon for-  
 ' mer motions, made use of, and find fault with  
 ' those orders and resolutions, which have been not  
 ' only agreed to, but agreed to by a great ma-  
 ' jority of this house, this will naturally provoke  
 ' other Lords to justify what they had before given  
 ' their consent to; this may probably occasion a  
 ' reply; and at this rate, we shall have the whole  
 ' business of the session, perhaps, brought in and re-  
 ' peated in every new debate: I hope every one of  
 ' your Lordships will consider, what an endless in-  
 ' tricate labyrinth this may involve us in, and will  
 ' therefore keep a little more close to the question in  
 ' hand.

' My

‘ My Lords, in the present affair your Lordships  
‘ made an order, that the petitioners should lay be-  
‘ fore this house, in writing, instances of those un-  
‘ due methods and illegal practices upon which they  
‘ intended to proceed, and the names of the persons  
‘ they suspected to have been guilty of such undue  
‘ methods and illegal practices; and for this purpose  
‘ your Lordships gave them such a sufficient time,  
‘ that even they themselves have not found fault with  
‘ it: This order they have not complied with, your  
‘ Lordships have already, by a great majority, re-  
‘ solved, that they have not complied with it; and  
‘ is not the dismissing of their petition, a natural  
‘ consequence of that disobedience in them, and of  
‘ this resolution which your Lordships have already  
‘ agreed to? I shall not, my Lords, enter into a  
‘ vindication of that order, or of that resolution, be-  
‘ cause I should thereby fall into that error, which I  
‘ find fault with in others: But allow me to say, my  
‘ Lords, that the petitioners might have told us  
‘ who it was, or at least, who they suspected it was,  
‘ that made use of the King’s name for inducing  
‘ any Lord in *Scotland* to vote for a list; and they  
‘ might have told us, who it was that promised or  
‘ gave money, or other reward, for voting for a list,  
‘ without telling us the names of the persons with  
‘ whom such arguments were made use of; and this  
‘ I am persuaded, your Lordships were fully con-  
‘ vinced of, before you agreed to that resolution you  
‘ have just now come to.

‘ As the dismissing of the petition is therefore a  
‘ natural consequence of the resolution your Lord-  
‘ ships have agreed to, I cannot see, my Lords,  
‘ why it should give any Lord in this house so great  
‘ a concern; for tho’ the practices complained of,  
‘ are such as certainly do affect the honour and dig-  
‘ nity of this house, and the independency of Par-  
‘ liament, if there are any good grounds to suspect  
‘ that



' that such practices were actually made use of, your  
 ' Lordships may, notwithstanding your dismissing  
 ' the petition now before you, fall upon many ways  
 ' of inquiring into those practices: I believe, I could  
 ' myself, propose a very proper method, for your  
 ' Lordships to enter upon such an inquiry, if I  
 ' thought there was a necessity for any such. The  
 ' consequence therefore of the practices complained  
 ' of, or the necessity that there may be for inquiring  
 ' into those practices, can be no argument against  
 ' our dismissing the petition now before us; and  
 ' in order to act consistently with the orders and  
 ' resolutions we have already agreed to, we cannot,  
 ' in my opinion, avoid dismissing it, for which rea-  
 ' son I shall agree to the motion the noble Lord has  
 ' has been pleased to make.'

When the question was just going to be put, the  
 Earl of *Strafford* stood up, and spoke to this effect,  
*viz.*

Motion  
 for a far-  
 ther time.

' My Lords, the motion now before us, is so far  
 ' from being a natural consequence of the resolution  
 ' agreed to, that it is directly contrary to the usual  
 ' method of proceeding in this house, and in all the  
 ' courts of justice in the world. In the whole course  
 ' of this affair, your Lordships have hitherto gone  
 ' very much into the methods of *Westminster-hall*,  
 ' and therefore I hope you will follow them through-  
 ' out the whole of the affair now before you: In all  
 ' the courts below, the first order they make in any  
 ' case, is seldom or ever absolute and peremptory:  
 ' If their first order is not complied with, they ge-  
 ' nerally make a second, sometimes a third, which  
 ' is called a peremptory order; but even with re-  
 ' spect to the most peremptory order, if the party  
 ' who is to comply with it, should make some sort  
 ' of compliance, but by mistake should not comply  
 ' with it so fully as he ought to do, surely the court  
 ' would

‘ would give him an indulgence, and would assign  
 ‘ him a new day for rectifying that mistake, espe-  
 ‘ cially if he should shew to the court a plausible rea-  
 ‘ son why it was not in his power to comply fully  
 ‘ with their order.

‘ This, my Lords, is the method of proceeding  
 ‘ in all the courts below, and this is the constant  
 ‘ method of proceeding in this house. I remember,  
 ‘ when this affair came first before us, some noble  
 ‘ Lords were mighty fond of making it a cause;  
 ‘ and if we look upon it as a cause, the motion now  
 ‘ before us is very far from being a natural conse-  
 ‘ quence of the resolution agreed to: Do not we,  
 ‘ my Lords, in all appeals, make an order for the  
 ‘ respondent to put in his answer against such a day?  
 ‘ But the order is never absolute and peremptory;  
 ‘ if the respondent fails to comply with it, your  
 ‘ Lordships never proceed to hear the cause *ex parte*;  
 ‘ you always make a new order, for the respondent  
 ‘ to put in his answer against such another day; which  
 ‘ in that case is called a peremptory day; therefore,  
 ‘ if your Lordships are not satisfied with the answer  
 ‘ already given in by the petitioners, I hope the no-  
 ‘ ble Lord will wave the motion he has made, and  
 ‘ agree to that I now make you, which is, To ad-  
 ‘ journ the consideration of this petition to this day  
 ‘ seven-night, and to order that the petitioners, may,  
 ‘ against that day, put in a farther answer to your  
 ‘ Lordship’s last order.

But the former motion being insisted on, the ques- Question.  
 tion was put upon it, which on a division was agreed  
 to, by 99 to 52, proxies included.

After which the petition was, by the forms of pro-  
 ceeding in that house, of course rejected.

‘ Upon

Upon the motion's being agreed to, for dismissing the petition, the following protest was entered upon the journals of that house, *viz.*

*Dissentient.*

*Somerset, Tadcaster, Maynard,*

*Protest.*

1. **B**Ecause, though the Lords petitioners have not literally complied with the order, according to the sense of the house, yet they have laid before us facts that are of so criminal a nature in themselves, and so dangerous in their consequence to the nation in general, and to this house in particular, that we think a due regard to the safety of the one, and the honour of the other, required the strictest examination.

2. For when we consider the first instance in the answer of the Lords petitioners, *viz.* ' That the list of sixteen Peers for *Scotland* had been framed by persons in high trust under the crown, long previous to the election itself, and that this list was shewn to Peers as a list approved of by the crown, and was called the King's list: We are filled with indignation, to see that great name indecently blended with the humour of ministers, and prophaned and prostituted to the worst purposes; purposes that must necessarily tend to the subversion of our constitution, which we know it is his Majesty's glory and desire to preserve. Such a criminal attempt to skreen or facilitate a ministerial nomination, by the interposition (equally false and illegal) of his Majesty's name, calls, in our opinion, not only for the strictest inquiry, and the severest punishment upon the authors of the fact, if it be proved, or the asserters of it, if it be not; but is in our opinion, no way to be dropt unexamined and uninquied into; such a precedent may, in future times, encourage the worst of

of ministers to load with his guilt the best of Princes ; the borrowed name of his sovereign may at once become his weapon and his shield, and the constitution owe its danger, and he his defence, to the abuse of his Prince's name, after a long abuse of his power.

3. Because the following instances, *viz.*

‘ That endeavours were used to engage Peers to vote for this list, by promise of pension and offices, civil and military, to themselves and near relations, and by actual promise and offers of sums of money.

‘ That sums of money were actually given to or for the use of some Peers, to engage them to concur in voting for this list.

‘ That annual pensions were promised to be paid to Peers, if they concurred in the voting for this list : some of them to be on a regular establishment, and others to be paid without any establishment at all.

‘ That about the time of this election, numbers of pensions, offices (of which several were nominal) and releases of debts owing to the crown, were granted to Peers who concurred in voting for this list, and to their near relations, seem in the highest degree to affect the honour and dignity of this house ; since untainted streams can hardly be expected to flow from a corrupted source : And if the election of sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, should ever, by the foul arts of corruption, dwindle into a ministerial nomination, instead of persons of the first rank, greatest merit, and most considerable property, we may expect, in future Parliaments, to see such only returned who, owing their election to the nomination of the minister, may purchase the continuance of their precarious seats, by a fatal and unanimous submission to his dictates : Such persons can

never be impartial judges of his conduct, should it ever be brought in judgment before this great tribunal.

4. Because the last instance mentioned, *viz.*

‘ That, on the day of election, a battalion of his Majesty’s forces was drawn up in the *Abbey-court* at *Edinburgh*, and three companies of it were marched from *Leith* (a place at one mile’s distance) to join the rest of the battalion, and kept under arms from nine in the morning till nine at night, when the election was ended; contrary to custom at elections, and without any cause or occasion, that your petitioners could foresee, other than the over-awing of the election,’ we apprehend to be of the highest consequence both to our liberties in general, and the freedom of elections in particular; since, whatever may have been the pretence, whatever apprehensions of disorders or tumults may have been alledged in this case, may be equally alledged on future occasions; especially as we have a number of regular forces abundantly sufficient to answer such calls: and we apprehend, that the employment assigned to this battalion, will give great distrust and uneasiness to many of his Majesty’s subjects, who will fear what use may be made of the rest of that very great number of men now kept up in this nation.

5. Because we conceive, that such a treatment given to a petition that contained an information of matters of so great importance, and signed by Peers of such rank, honour and veracity, must, in future times, discourage all informations of the like nature.

6. Tho’ all Lords declared their design of examining into the bottom of these important facts, and tho’



tho' we should acknowledge ourselves to be persuaded that it was their real intention, we very much doubt whether the world will judge with the same candour, and not rather impute this dismissal of the petition, to an unwillingness in this house to inquire into facts that are in their nature so injurious to the crown, so destructive of the honour of Parliaments, and so dangerous to the whole frame of our happy constitution.

<i>Scarsdale,</i>	<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>
<i>Bruce,</i>	<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Beaufort,</i>
<i>Bolton,</i>	<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Denbigh,</i>
<i>Warrington,</i>	<i>Thanet,</i>	<i>Cobham,</i>
<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Bridgewater,</i>
<i>Suffolk,</i>	<i>Alesford,</i>	<i>Anglesey,</i>
<i>Shaftesbury,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>
<i>Chesterfield,</i>	<i>Huntingdon,</i>	<i>Haversham,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>Masham,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Coventry,</i>	<i>Grahame,</i>	<i>Macclesfield.</i>
<i>Foley,</i>		

The house having been silent for some little time after this division; at last, the Earl of *Abingdon* stood up, and said in substance, ' That the affair ' they had been upon, was a matter of such consequence, that he thought it ought not to be intirely dropt: That in their former debate, a noble Lord, ' who was for dismissing the petition, had told them, ' that tho' the petition should be dismissed, he could ' put them in a way of inquiring into the illegal ' practices complained of; and therefore he hoped ' that noble Lord would stand up, and propose ' some method for their entering upon an inquiry ' into that affair.'

Upon this the Earl of *Illy* stood up, and spoke to this effect, viz.

‘ My Lords, I believe the noble Lord has mis-  
 ‘ apprehended what I said in the former debate ; for  
 ‘ I did not say, nor could mean to say, that I would  
 ‘ put your Lordships into a method of inquiring  
 ‘ into all the illegal practices complained of, because  
 ‘ I never did, nor do yet believe, that there ever  
 ‘ were any such practices made use of, except as to  
 ‘ the regiment, which is said to have been kept un-  
 ‘ der arms during the time of the election ; that I  
 ‘ believe there may be some truth in. That, as I  
 ‘ have said before, I wish your Lordships would in-  
 ‘ quire into ; and if you have a mind to enter into  
 ‘ any such inquiry, I believe I may be able to con-  
 ‘ trive some proper method for that purpose ; but as  
 ‘ I have not yet turned much of my thoughts that  
 ‘ way, I cannot say that I am just now prepared  
 ‘ to offer any thing even upon that head to your  
 ‘ Lordships consideration, nor do I think it abso-  
 ‘ lutely necessary to be done this night.’

Then the Earl of *Abingdon* stood up again, and  
 spoke in substance thus, *viz.*

Pamphlet  
 moved to  
 be read.

‘ My Lords, since the noble Lord who spoke last,  
 ‘ has declined to offer any method to your Lord-  
 ‘ ships consideration, give me leave to offer some-  
 ‘ thing, which will naturally bring you into a me-  
 ‘ thod of making an inquiry into the affair you have  
 ‘ had before you. I have, my Lords, in my hand,  
 ‘ a printed paper, a sort of a pamphlet, at least, I  
 ‘ bought it at a pamphlet-shop, where it was pub-  
 ‘ licly sold, and it is intitled, *The Protests of a great*  
 ‘ *number of noble Lords, entered by them at the last*  
 ‘ *election of Peers for Scotland* : Whether or no there  
 ‘ were any such protests, then entered, is what I can-  
 ‘ not pretend to inform your Lordships of ; but if  
 ‘ there were any such, it is incumbent upon your  
 ‘ Lordships, to inquire into the practices there com-  
 ‘ plained of, and if no such protests were entered, it  
 ‘ is an indignity offered to the Peers of *Scotland*,  
 ‘ whose

‘ whose names are pretended to be put to them ; it  
‘ is an indignity offered to the sixteen Peers of *Scot-*  
‘ *land* now in this house, to publish any such for-  
‘ gery ; therefore the publishers ought to be inquired  
‘ into, and ought to be brought under the censure  
‘ of this house ; for which reason I desire, my  
‘ Lords, that this printed paper, or pamphlet may  
‘ be read.’

The Earl of *Scarborough* said, ‘ He thought it  
‘ was something very extraordinary, to desire a pam-  
‘ phlet to be read at their Lordships table : It was  
‘ at all times below the dignity of that house, to  
‘ have a pamphlet read at their table ; but to desire  
‘ any such thing when it was so late, was still more  
‘ improper, therefore he hoped their Lordships would  
‘ adjourn.’

The Earl of *Abingdon* stood up again, and spoke  
thus :

‘ My Lords, it is so far from being below the  
‘ dignity of this house, to have a pamphlet read at  
‘ your table, that it is not only an usual practice, but  
‘ it is a right that every Lord has, and may insist  
‘ on. It is a common practice, my Lords, when  
‘ any Lord of this house thinks, that his own ho-  
‘ nour, the honour of this house, or the honour of  
‘ any Peer of *Great-Britain* is reflected on, by any  
‘ pamphlet that has been published, to make his  
‘ complaint to the house, and he has a right to have  
‘ what he complains of, read at your table. Upon  
‘ such occasions, I know it is usual, to point out the  
‘ particular paragraphs, or sentences, in the pam-  
‘ phlet complained of, and to desire that they only  
‘ may be read at the table ; but in the pamphlet I  
‘ now complain of, every paragraph is worthy of  
‘ your Lordships consideration, and as it is but  
‘ short, as it will take up but a very few minutes  
‘ of

‘ of your Lordships time, I desire the whole may  
 ‘ be read.

The Earl of *Aylesford* spoke next in favour of the motion; but several other Lords still insisting, that a pamphlet ought not to be read at that table, the Lord *Bathurst* stood up, and spoke thus, *viz.*

Protests  
 moved to  
 be read.

‘ My Lords, since your Lordships do not seem  
 ‘ inclined to have a printed paper read at your table  
 ‘ I shall offer you one in writing. I can inform  
 ‘ your Lordships, that such protests as are men-  
 ‘ tioned in that printed paper or pamphlet, which  
 ‘ has been dispersed over the whole kingdom, were  
 ‘ actually entered upon the journal of the last elec-  
 ‘ tion of Peers for *Scotland*, and were signed by a  
 ‘ great number of the Peers of that kingdom: Of  
 ‘ those protests, I have now in my hand an authen-  
 ‘ tic copy, a copy taken from the register or jour-  
 ‘ nal of that election, signed by the two principal  
 ‘ clerks, and witnessed by two gentlemen, who are  
 ‘ now attending in the lobby, and ready to declare  
 ‘ upon oath, at your Lordships bar, that they col-  
 ‘ lated it with the journal, and that it is a true copy:  
 ‘ The reading of this at your Lordships table, I  
 ‘ hope you will not think below the dignity of this  
 ‘ house; and as I think it inconsistent with the ho-  
 ‘ nour of this house to adjourn, notwithstanding its  
 ‘ being so late, without taking some step towards  
 ‘ inquiring into an affair, which so much concerns  
 ‘ the preservation of our constitution, and which has  
 ‘ made so much noise over the whole kingdom?  
 ‘ therefore, I hope you will immediately proceed to  
 ‘ take into your consideration what I now offer, or  
 ‘ appoint a short day for that purpose.

Near ten o'clock at night.

Upon

Upon this it was moved to adjourn, and the motion being insisted on, the question was put, which was carried in the affirmative, by 73 to 39.

Whereupon the following protest was entered upon the journal, *viz.*

*Dissentient.*

**B**Ecause we can by no means think it consistent with the honour of the house to adjourn, without appointing a day (as was proposed) to consider of a matter, allowed universally to be of the highest importance: And we have reason to apprehend, that posterity, upon the perusal of the journal of this day, may be induced to think, that this house was not inclined to permit the transactions of the late election in *Scotland* to be brought under examination, in any shape whatsoever; the method proposed being, as we conceive, clear of all the objections which were made, in relation to the petition.

<i>Scarsdale,</i>	<i>Berkshire,</i>	<i>Chesterfield,</i>
<i>Bruce,</i>	<i>Aylesford,</i>	<i>Huntingdon,</i>
<i>Bolton,</i>	<i>Gower,</i>	<i>Craven,</i>
<i>Warrington,</i>	<i>Litchfield,</i>	<i>Masbam,</i>
<i>Bedford,</i>	<i>Beaufort,</i>	<i>Northampton,</i>
<i>Suffolk,</i>	<i>Denbigh,</i>	<i>Coventry.</i>
<i>Strafford,</i>	<i>Cobham,</i>	<i>Grabame,</i>
<i>Abingdon,</i>	<i>Bridgwater,</i>	<i>Macclesfield,</i>
<i>Boyle,</i>	<i>Anglesey,</i>	<i>Foley,</i>
<i>Thanet,</i>	<i>Bathurst,</i>	<i>Maynard.</i>
<i>Shaftsbury,</i>	<i>Haversham,</i>	

*The End of the TWELFTH VOLUME.*



